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ART. I.—*Letters of Euler on Different Subjects of Natural Philosophy—Addressed to a German Princess; with Notes, and a Life of Euler.* By DAVID BREWSTER, L.L.D. F.R.S. London and Edinburgh. *Containing a Glossary of Scientific Terms, with Additional Notes.* By JOHN GRISCOM, L.L.D. New York: Harper, 1833.

IF a complete analysis of the human mind could be made, by which the exact degree of admiration and respect, with which each class of truths is received, might be discovered, it is hardly to be doubted that the one most marked would be that of mathematics. The harmony of figures, the demonstrativeness and exactitude of mathematical investigations, allow of no scepticism as to the results, but carry to the understanding a ready conviction, which both excites a pleasurable emotion, and commands unlimited faith. Truth is truth, and of whatever class it may be, when assented to, inspires faith not absolutely distinct. But the *modus credendi* is not the same in all propositions. The leading principles in any system of morals, are arrived at only by a chain of reasoning predicated of conditions of human nature—our wants, our capacities, and our destinies. The belief of the moralist may be strong, and not to be shaken; but the operation by which he may have been led to it, may be both long and complex. It may be logically founded in his own mind; and yet that foundation may be denied by others. The knowledge which we derive primarily from sensation, is received by the great mass of mankind as the highest description of truth; as that which carries with it the greatest degree of certainty; yet, in fact, it has not that degree, nor does it convey to the intelligent mind, that entire satisfaction

which attends the results of mathematical reasoning. But whatever may be the relative ranks of physical and mathematical truths, there is a completeness and independence in the modes of the latter, that give them superior claims to our admiration.

The elevated character of the science reflects most strongly upon those who devote themselves to it. Here, as in every other intellectual pursuit, the votary becomes identified with the object which commands his efforts; and he receives an importance which, although graduated mostly by the value of his labours, is still in a great degree enhanced by the accidental connexion which thus exists. In proportion as the ends of mathematical inquiry are valuable, and its results indisputable and convincing, the successful investigation is raised in the estimation of those who can appreciate their grandeur, and in the wonderment of the million who see in him the outward manifestations of a prophetic spirit. Without, however, referring to this factitious elevation, the mathematician has intrinsic claims upon the gratitude of his fellows. The science which he cultivates is the earliest on record. It carried the Hellenists to their lofty situation among the nations of antiquity. It was the first subject of the speculations of their philosophers. "Let no one enter here who is ignorant of mathematics," was not less inscribed over their portals, in fact, than it was the condition of admission to the converse of the sages who dwelt there. The esteem in which the science was then held was not mere caprice. Without it, where would have been the pantheon or the magnificent structure dedicated to Olympian Jove? The recluse of Megara, indeed, did more for the lasting glory of his country, than did ever the hero of Salamis.

Mathematical science, when considered as the foundation of most of the useful arts of life, assumes an incontrovertible pre-eminence. "The hewer of stone and drawer of water," wot not of their obligations to it; yet it is no difficult task to show that even their simple labours are directed by rules derived from this source. He therefore who advances it, who developes new truths, is a direct benefactor to the world, and deserves a cenotaph the more splendid, that his contributions to mankind are enduring and directly conducive to their happiness.

Among the distinguished men who shed a rich lustre upon the exact, and especially the mathematical sciences, in the latter part of the seventeenth century and in the first part of the eighteenth, Leonard Euler has a claim to the attention of the inquirer after scientific truth, and of the historian of the progress of the human mind, not at all inferior, as respects his contributions to general knowledge, to those of any of his associates; in many other respects, however, superior to them. If to observe a bold adventurer, and a successful one, attaining to the highest points of intellectual truth, overcoming, by dint of industry and natural



strength of mind, the most profound investigations, and even taking a start beyond previous inquirers, be just cause for admiration and an inducement to studied imitation,—how much more ennobling and valuable is the course of him who, while he rises to that dizzy summit from which many cannot descend,—and if they attempt it “topple down headlong,”—at the same time returns with facility to those elementary principles which were the foundation of his eminence? Such was the character of Euler. If he at times wielded a gigantic power and exhibited extraordinary results, he also evinced an unusual adaptation to the consideration of the simple principles of science. He was not less a pioneer in the fields of research, than an instructor in the rudiments of knowledge. He was equally admirable in untried investigations, and in the horn-book. The philosopher found in him a most worthy companion, the school-boy an inappreciable master.

Bâle has the honour of being the birth-place of Euler; but his father becoming pastor of Riechen in the year after his birth, 1708, he spent his infancy in the latter village with no other instructor. From him, however, Euler seems to have imbibed an early taste for mathematics,—a predilection which was greatly fostered in the university of Bâle, to which he was afterwards removed. There he received the familiar lessons of John Bernoulli, holding with him weekly conversations, and obtaining explanations of those difficulties which invariably beset the young beginner. Such advantages, when not abused, but made incentives to greater exertions, are inestimable; and bestowed upon Euler, they were the happy means of nurturing that nascent germ which was afterwards unfolded in him with unprecedented grandeur. At the very early age of nineteen he obtained the *accessit du prix*, proposed by the Academy of Sciences, on the *masting of ships*; the first prize being taken by Bougnier, hydrographical professor at Croisic, who had, through his situation, obtained a mass of statistical nautical knowledge which Euler could not command. At the same time he published his *Dissertatio Physica de Sono*.

Henceforward the life of Euler seems to have been one of incessant toil and useful labour. No individual, within the whole range of science, has offered so many publications valuable for their originality. The titles of his papers in the St. Petersburg, Turin, and Berlin Transactions, are said of themselves to occupy fifty pages.

The papers themselves comprise more than half of the forty-six quarto volumes which were published by the Academy of St. Petersburg between 1727 and 1783; and of his posthumous papers, of which he left behind him *two hundred*—owing to a promise made to Count Orloff to supply the *Acta Petropolitana* with memoirs for twenty years after his death—a very great number have appeared in the same Transactions. Of all these it would be utterly

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impossible to give any account; we shall therefore confine ourselves in the ensuing pages to a brief consideration of his more important labours and contributions to science.

The great field in which Euler was mostly engaged was in improving the new analysis. By slow degrees the principle of infinites which had been somewhat exemplified in the method of Exhaustions of the old geometers, had grown up, in the hands of original thinkers, into a science of new and unbounded power. The plastic touch of Newton and Leibnitz, rivals in fame, but associates in the cause of mathematics, had first presented to the world this powerful instrument for the evolution of truth. "Every where," says a distinguished writer, "as it became known, it enlarged the views, roused the activity, and increased the power of the geometer, while it directed the warmest sentiments of his gratitude and admiration towards the great inventors. It soon became firmly established throughout the whole of Europe, notwithstanding the opposition and prejudice of those who were unwilling to yield up the old system.\* Yet successful as it was, and complete as it seemed to be, there was still left great room for advancing its principles and improving the analysis itself. Claimed to be the invention of two different individuals, there had been adopted in its use a different algorithm; and there had even been pursued different principles, as in the treatment of the difference of variable quantities. These disagreements were, however, connected. The great principle itself was to be expanded, its numerous applications pointed out, and the great advantages which were to follow from it, seized and employed. Newton, M'Laurin, and others in England; and Leibnitz, the Bernoullis, de L'Hopital, and others on the continent, had solved many nice questions by the new method, and had considerably extended its power; but it was reserved for Euler, and after him La Grange and La Place, to consummate the great glory of the infinitesimal analysis.

Although the Calculus had been in existence for upwards of forty years, there was no general principle laid down in regard to the method of integration. There were as many methods as there were cases. The solution of one did not assist in the solution of another. There was wanting some characteristic sign by which it might be known immediately whether an equation could be integrated or not. Euler was the first to discover this, for the first order of differential equations, having employed it in one instance in his *Mechanics*. The demonstration, however, was not published till it appeared in 1740 in the *Memoirs of the Academies of St. Petersburg*.

The *Mechanics* of Euler were the first which treated of that subject analytically. He calculated every possible variety of the

\* Among these, Bishop Berkley was most conspicuous.



motions of bodies considered as points, beginning with the simplest problems and concluding with those more difficult. Acting under the belief that the old geometric method was embarrassing, and deficient in some system, he sought to generalize and apply the new method in one of the most important branches of science. It was the first step of the kind, and was eminently successful. In reference to one very important matter, his proposition to reduce all the forces acting upon a point to three forces acting at right angles, and estimating the forces obliquely to their real directions, he had been anticipated by M'Laurin, who had, in his *Fluxions*, suggested that the forces should be reduced to three at right angles with each other, and parallel to three rectangular co-ordinate ones fixed in space.

The powers of the Calculus, as we have observed, were developed by problems which were from time to time proposed in a spirit of commendable rivalry, by the distinguished mathematicians upon whom the inheritance fell. Among these, conspicuously shone James Bernoulli and his brother John. The emulation, however, which had at first been excited among them, having degenerated into a jealousy of each other's fame, they were constantly engaged in proposing embarrassing questions, which were calculated to throw great light upon the new science, although they tended to widen the violent differences between the proposers. These questions related, for the most part, to the consideration of various *maxima* and *minima* properties. In 1696 John Bernoulli proposed the celebrated problem of the brachystochronous curve—that is, to find the curve or line along which a body can pass from one point to another in the shortest time. This question did not then come within the power of the Differential and Integral Calculus. Three solutions appeared, one by de L'Hopital, one by James Bernoulli, and one by Sir Isaac Newton. James Bernoulli accompanied his solution with a problem to all the analysts of Europe, and especially to his brother; this was the celebrated isoperimetrical problem. The solution of this question was equivalent to finding a general method for solving all questions of the kind. He annexed a prize of fifty ducats on condition that John should, within three months, engage to solve it within a year. The younger brother made a solution on the same day that he received it, and published it in the *Histoire des Ouvrages des Sçavans*, stating that instead of a year, it had occupied just three minutes. But after all it was imperfect. John, however, maintained its correctness; the elder brother published his formulas without their demonstrations; John Bernoulli gave an improved, but still an erroneous solution; when, finally, James published in the *Leipsic Acts* (*Acta Eruditorum*) of June 1700, his own very perfect solution, under the title of *Jacobi Bernoulli solutio propria problematis isoperimetrici*, and in the May following an analysis of the problem.

We have referred to this highly interesting controversy in the history of the analysis, for the purpose of illustrating the influence which it had upon the labours of Euler. He had made himself master of the treatise of James Bernoulli; and directed his attention to the generalization of his views. Bernoulli had considered the question in regard only to three consecutive elements as liable to variation. Euler took up a variety of questions, in which, before the equation was fulfilled, there were four or more consecutive variations. He extended the method to the geometry of three dimensions. After having thought and elaborated upon the subject for about eighteen years, he at length published at Lausanne, in 1744, a regular treatise on the subject, entitled, *Methodus inveniendi lineas curvas maximi minimive proprietate gaudentes, seu solutio problematis isoperimetrici generalius concepti*, a work certainly displaying a mind of great depth and originality, and contributing very essentially to the cause of science. Euler distinguishes two kinds of maxima or minima,—one, absolute, when the curve possesses without restriction a certain property of maximum or minimum among all the curves corresponding to the same abscissa,—the other, relative, when the curve, which ought to possess a certain property of maximum or minimum, ought also to satisfy another condition. The analysis of Euler was, however, susceptible of improvement, and he himself confesses that all questions of this kind are within the reach of some method not yet sufficiently understood. This method was at a later date discovered by La Grange, from whom it received the name of the Calculus of Variations. Euler's work was also deficient as regards notation. It being necessary to consider different variations in isoperimetrical problems, a distinct notation should be adopted for each, but he had not extended his algorithm to this point. He paid, however, a tribute to the merits of La Grange when he adopted his method at a later period of his life.

M. Fuss, the eulogist and biographer of Euler, has attributed to him the discovery of another important branch of the analysis,—one which is of the utmost use in the physico-mathematical sciences. The integration of equations of partial differentials, to which we now allude, has for its object, to find an equation which will satisfy a proposed differential equation, when the relation existing between the differential co-efficients is all that is known. D'Alembert, in his memoir, *Sur la cause générale des vents*, first came upon an equation of this kind. He again met with it while engaged in the solution of the problem of the musical string. The problem of a vibrating cord had been partially solved by Taylor in his *Methodus Incrementorum*. D'Alembert took it up more generally, considering the problem, whatever might be the initial curvature of the string. The equation of this curve is one of the second order of partial differentials,—in satisfying the conditions of which we arrive at a complete equation. D'Alembert announced

his extension of the solution of the problem of a vibrating cord in 1727, in the Memoirs of the Berlin Academy. Euler was struck with the generality of the equation obtained by D'Alembert, and published in the same Transactions for 1748, a memoir upon the subject, in which he arrived at nearly the same results, though by a somewhat different method. Of the controversy which ensued between these eminent mathematicians, we need say nothing more than that it elicited a great display of talent, and served to place the matter in a clearer light. The various aspects in which Euler especially considered and applied the calculus to partial differentials, showed the numerous applications of which it was susceptible. He afterwards more fully developed the new method in the Acts of the Petersburg Academy, and again took up the subject in his rich, clear, and finely original work on the Integral Calculus. We cannot, however, give to him the exclusive merit of originating it; he merely demonstrated the generality of the solution of D'Alembert. The completion of this method was reserved for La Grange.

As to this continued effort on the part of Euler to improve and enlarge the resources of the analytical method, it would be incompatible with our limits to point out all the new uses to which he applied it, in demonstrative mechanics, in the doctrine of probabilities, and in the naval arts. There seemed, indeed, to be no subject of reasoning presented to the mind which he did not seek to bring within its power and grasp. It was the peculiar character of his own mind to delight in abstractions. He firmly seized even the most abstruse truths, and among them he spent his time in pleasing speculation. The truth is, and should not be disguised, that Euler was too fond of referring rather to the metaphysical than the pure mathematical proof. He threw off, more than any previous mathematician, the shackles which were imposed by the demonstrative method; and in the liberty which he found, he gave full scope to the operation of his own intellect, without always remembering the more sober powers of his readers.

Euler did not confine his labours even to the sciences which we have named. Physical astronomy also arrested his attention, and received some very important contributions from his efforts. Newton had, in his *Principia*, thrown out some remarks in regard to the perturbations arising from the mutual attraction of the heavenly bodies, in consequence of which the orbits described are strictly of no regular figure: but he did not attempt to compute the exact effect more than by a single calculation, showing the attraction of Jupiter and Saturn at their conjunction. The questions which he had left to be solved by his successors were of a very important character. He had found that the greatest action of Jupiter on Saturn was  $\frac{1}{211}$  of that of the sun, and that the greatest action of Saturn on Jupiter was about  $\frac{1}{2110}$ , an attract-



ive power which would materially affect the movements of these two planets around the sun. This subject attracted the attention of Euler, when in 1746 the Academy of Sciences at Paris proposed a prize for the successful determination of these perturbations. In August, 1747, Euler completed his dissertation, and sent it to the Academy nearly a year before the time fixed for the award. Subsequent to this period Clairaut and D'Alembert also solved the question. In considering the subject Euler commences with the simplest case. He supposes Jupiter to move in a strictly circular orbit, and computes the perturbations of Saturn from this hypothesis; he confines himself to the action of Jupiter on Saturn,—which is the greatest,—because the same method applies equally to the action of Saturn on Jupiter. In the course of his calculations he met with some difficulty from the series in which the expression for the perturbing force is thrown. He went on, however, to integrate the series, and found that it became rapidly convergent, which at once relieved him. The motion of the apheelia, of the nodes, and other inequalities, were severally considered in this memoir, with great clearness and success. Still his solution was not complete, though Clairaut and D'Alembert agreeing in his results, it was at first inferred by him that the theory itself was not correct. There were other inequalities which had been observed besides those considered by him, and which had given rise to the opinion that there was still some force undiscovered. The French Academy pursued the inquiry, and offered another prize in 1750, and a third in 1752, for a more complete solution. Euler again obtained the prize for the latter year. He showed in this dissertation that both the secular and periodical inequalities, except those affecting the length of the years of Jupiter and Saturn, result from the fact, that the solar system is oscillating around a stable equilibrium.

We must, however, dismiss even this superficial reference to the mathematical labours of this great man. We wish to pay some homage to his memory, and to remind such as may see these pages of the toil and the skill of one of those who assisted in rearing the beautiful fabric of the modern analysis. To do entire justice to his superior powers and to his valuable discoveries, requires time and space which cannot be expected to be devoted in a literary journal.

The philosophical letters of Euler, which are comprised in the volumes before us, were addressed to the princess of Anhalt Dessau, for her own use and instruction. They are eminently adapted for the purpose for which they were written, and may be taken as a general model for elementary works. Few, however, in these days of *brachystochronous* teaching, bring to the execution of their task so profound a mind and such admirable powers of illustration as our author possessed. He perceived at a single glance the whole variety and extent of his immense subject; and fully



executed it upon the scale which he contemplated. Hence arise both some of the excellences and the faults of the work. He has given us a finished if not a perfect performance, presenting his views upon all the topics of the natural philosophy of his day, and embracing a complete circle of the sciences. On the other hand, as might be expected from so entire an undertaking, when many important subjects were yet *in foro*, incorrect hypothesis has supplied the place of just theory; and this treatise, which might otherwise be put in the hands of the novice without annotation or emendation, is short of that perfection which would render it of undiminishable value. This circumstance, however, gave scope for the exercise of the inventive faculty of Euler, which we have already noticed, and which was the more strongly exhibited in him, as he possessed in a superior degree its greatest aid—a tenacious memory. We admire, therefore, the intrepidity of the philosopher, though we cannot admit the propriety of his devices.

It has been objected to these Letters, that the author has adhered in them to established notions in regard to religion,—that he has been too ready to vindicate the claims of our holy faith against the attacks of those who have sought to make it yield to alleged violations of physical and metaphysical truth. On the contrary, the triumphant manner in which he has met proposed difficulties of this kind, and the success with which he has shown the perfect congruity of Christian doctrine with the discoveries in science, give the work an enhanced value in the estimation of the religious believer. Indeed, it is a characteristic which manifests itself upon every page, and emanating from so pure and so powerful a mind, has been particularly obnoxious to the sceptics of a later day.

Another objection of more force may be urged against this work. Euler seems careful, to a fault, not to mention the names of those to whom the world is indebted for the splendid truths which have been discovered in science; while, on the other hand, the authors of the false systems which he combats with so much zeal and industry are ever brought out in striking relief. It would thus seem that the omission was intentional. Independently of the difficulty in attaining a correct historical knowledge of scientific principles, and of strengthening in the mind the foundation of scientific knowledge,—both of which we hold to be the result of an attention to names and dates in the course of discoveries,—great injury is done, by the omission, to the memory and fame of those master minds who may have conferred the greatest benefits upon mankind. The philosopher may labour for present good and satisfaction; he may experience the greatest pleasure in the consciousness of having performed a noble duty towards his fellows; but still, the hope and expectation of posthumous applause,—the infirmity, although it be, of noble minds,—is one great end to which he directs his efforts. Indeed, the man of

science, who looks for his reward from his contemporaries, is too often sadly and disgracefully disappointed. The mighty consequences of his exertions do not appear immediately. Time reveals his merits, and then

— “thousands crowd around his tomb,  
And pilgrims come from lands where they have known  
The name of him, who now is but a name,  
And wasting homage o'er the sullen stone,  
Spread his, by him unheard, unheeded fame.”

And who should be instrumental in robbing him of this small consolation? It is the dearest legacy which he can bequeath to those who own his blood or bear his name.

To see one great mind derogating even in this indirect manner from the fair fame of others, is certainly lamentable. We would willingly find an apology for Euler in the nature of this work, were not the same fault also observable in his other writings. In its main scope, the treatise before us does not admit of that minuteness of detail which of itself would seem to require a particularity in regard to names; but those parts, and they are many, which partake of a controversial character, not only afford proper opportunities, but even demand such notices.

The popularity which has ever followed these Letters is to be attributed to the clear and perspicuous manner in which the subjects are treated, their simple method and arrangement, and the rich variety of illustration with which they are explained. More than almost any other elementary writer on abstract science, Euler has consulted the apprehension of the simplest reader, and has studied to lead him by an insensible induction from the plainest to the most recondite principles. A happy instance of this mode of proceeding may be observed in the letters devoted to music. After having explained the nature of velocity by familiar illustrations, he proceeds to the consideration of sound and its velocity. The sound produced by the striking of a bell is seen to be attended with a sensible trembling of the instrument itself, and that by a string with vibrations. The uniformity of these vibrations producing a uniformity of sounds, is observed to have an effect which we call music. When a greater or smaller number of vibrations takes place in the same time, the sounds are more sharp or more flat. And thus by a statement of these rudiments of sounds, he arrives at the laws of consonance and dissonance, of unison and octaves, and of the other consonances.

The theory of lights, as explained in these volumes, affords an exemplification of the character of the work. Descartes, who had contended that all space was filled with a subtle, inelastic ether, and that light was produced by the agitation of this fluid, is fully displayed to us with his system, which is shown to be at variance with known facts and with the laws of nature. “The theory of

Newton, which is one of the two that divide the opinions of the learned of the present day, and which denies the existence of such a pervading fluid, and supposes that light is produced by the radiation of infinite particles from a luminous centre, is also attacked and displaced. "This opinion," says Euler, "appears at first sight very bold and irreconcilable to reason. For were the sun emitting continually and in all directions such floods of luminous matter, with a velocity so prodigious, he must speedily be exhausted; or, at least some alteration must, after the lapse of so many ages, be perceptible. This is contradicted by observation, it cannot be a matter of doubt, that a fountain which should emit streams of water in all directions, would be exhausted in proportion to the velocity of the emission; much more the sun, whose rays are emitted with a velocity so inconceivable." Without acknowledging ourselves the advocates of the Newtonian doctrine, we must say that this reasoning against it is far from satisfactory. But more of this presently.

Rejecting the theory of Descartes, Huygens, in 1678, communicated to the Academy of Sciences at Paris, another system, which, assimilating in some respects to that of the former, but differing from it in others, obviated the difficulties which were urged against it, and explained in a singularly felicitous manner the equality of the angles of incidence and reflection, the constant ratio between the sines of the angles of incidence and refraction, and other phenomena of light. This theory supposes, like that of Descartes, a subtle ether diffused throughout all space, but of an elastic nature. This fluid is agitated in spherical undulations around a luminous centre. Euler adopts this system, but does not even hint at the inventor. This is the more singular, in that he has indulged in a pathetic, and, at the least, a misplaced homily upon the great weakness of Newton in presenting so objectionable a theory as that of emanation. "His profound knowledge," says Euler, "and his acute penetration into the most hidden mysteries of nature, will be a just object of admiration to the present and to every future age. But the errors of this great man (in regard to the nature of light) should serve to admonish us of the weakness of the human understanding, which, after having soared to the greatest possible heights, is in danger of plunging into manifest contradiction." The merits of Huygens are, on the other hand, totally untold.

The doctrine of ethereal undulations, however, is developed in a clear and familiar manner. After having adroitly, but very illogically, laid it down as a postulate, that the space through which the heavenly bodies move is filled with a subtle matter, he proceeds:—

"That subtle matter which fills the whole space in which the heavenly bodies revolve is called *ether*. Of its extreme subtlety no doubt can be en-



tertained. In order to form an idea of it, we have only to attend to the nature of air, which, though extremely subtle, even on the surface of the earth, becomes more and more so as we ascend, and entirely ceases, if I may use the expression, when it becomes to be lost in ether. The ether, then, is likewise a fluid as the air is, but incomparably finer and more subtle, as we are assured that the heavenly bodies revolve freely through it, without meeting any perceptible resistance. It is also, without doubt, possessed of elasticity, by means of which it has a tendency to expand itself in all directions, and to penetrate into spaces where there would otherwise be a vacuum; so that if by some accident the ether were forced out of any space, the surrounding fluid would instantly rush in and fill it again.

In virtue of this elasticity, the ether is to be found not only in regions which are above our atmosphere, but it penetrates the atmosphere universally, insinuates itself by the pores of all bodies, and passes irresistibly through them. Were you, by the help of the air-pump, to exhaust the air from a receiver, you must not imagine that you have produced an absolute vacuum; for the ether, forcing itself through the pores of the receiver, completely fills it in an instant. Having filled a glass tube of the proper length with mercury, and immersed it, when inverted, in the cistern, in order to make a barometer, it might be supposed that the part of the tube which is higher than the mercury is a vacuum, because the air is completely excluded, as it cannot penetrate the pores of glass; but this vacuum, which is apparent only, is undoubtedly supplied by the ether insinuating itself without the smallest difficulty."

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"Having seen then that the air, by these very qualities, is in a proper state for receiving the agitations or shakings of sonorous bodies, and to diffuse them in all directions, as we find in the propagation of sound, it is very natural to suppose that ether may in the same circumstances likewise receive agitations in the same manner, and transmit them to the greatest distances. As the vibrations of the air produce *sound*, what will be the effect of those of ether? You will undoubtedly guess at once, *lights*. It appears, in truth, abundantly certain, that light is, with respect to ether, what sound is with respect to air; and that the rays of lights are nothing else but the shakings or vibrations transmitted by the ether, as sound consists in the shakings or vibrations transmitted by the air.

The sun, then, loses nothing of his substance in this case, any more than a bell in vibrating; and in adopting this system there is no reason to apprehend that the mass of this orb should ever suffer any diminution. What I have said of the sun must also be extended to all luminous bodies, such as fire, a wax taper, a candle, &c.—Pp. 83, 84, 85.

The authority with which this system is announced would convey the impression of its entire truth and correctness; but in fact, although adopted by many philosophers, and remarkably confirmed in many phenomena, it labours under difficulties which should at least qualify our confidence. The theory of Newton, lightly as it is esteemed by Euler, is certainly entitled to respect, and even to as great a share of our faith as the other, if we consider the argument adduced against it. The whole solar system seems to be one of compensations. Even the circumscribed limits for the operations of the laws of nature on the earth, present us with some very beautiful illustrations of the same principle. Why, then, urge against the plausibility of a system of Newton, in re-



gard to light, the waste occasioned by the loss of substance on the part of the radiating body, when it is only necessary to suppose an extension of the same law in this instance to obviate it? Why may not the substance emitted be more subtle than the other, which is supposed to exist by the theory of undulations; and from its very subtlety more rapidly return to the fountain of emanation?

The truth is, that all inquiries into the intimate nature of light have fallen far short of that precision and satisfaction which are necessary for the formation or complete establishment of any theory. Facts, however, are fast accumulating in regard to its phenomenal action,—facts which may at no very distant day afford to some great mind, grounds for a more satisfactory generalization, or, indeed, impart a certainty as respects one of the theories now received, either by reconciling apparent contradictions, or by inducing modifications of the system.

Euler has attacked, in these volumes, with much more force than he has done the theory of Newton, some of the metaphysical notions of Leibnitz. The monadologia receives a share of his attention, not so commensurate to present opinions in regard to that system, as to its former popularity; when, as Euler himself tells us, the dispute respecting monads employed such general attention, and was conducted with so much warmth, that it forced its way into company of every description, that of the guard-room not excepted. It undoubtedly requires a metaphysical mind to apprehend the doctrine fully; for Dugald Stewart appears to have sought in vain even for a precise idea of the word monad, as employed by its inventor. It may be defined to be a simple essence or elementary principle, existing in every thing, whether material or spiritual, “not atoms of matter, but atoms of substance,—real units, which are the first principles in the composition of things, and the last elements in the analysis of substances; of which principles or elements, what we call bodies, are only the phenomena.” These monads are not subject to change from external force; but have in themselves principles of modification which afford means of distinction. The Deity is the monad of monads,—the primordial source of an infinite number of secondary essences. Each monad is complete and integral it itself; and in this view is a living mirror, imaging forth the whole creation, and is influenced and controlled by as regular laws as the universe itself. This distinctive character of each monad is derived from the fact, that there are no two things which agree in their intimate natures, and that even the creative power of all things is so far limited, as not to be able to produce two things exactly alike. But from the harmony of the universe, pre-ordained by infinite wisdom, there is an ideal agreement among monads, so that they have the appearance of mutually influencing each other, though in truth they only reflect each other. There is no change of position of a monad,

more than of the universe itself. The apparent motion which takes place is only the result of a greater or less elucidation of certain monads. Thus our journeyings are solved by this system, as being a mere illusion. "My idea," says Euler, "for example, of the city of Magdeburgh is produced by certain monads, of which I have at present but very obscure ideas; and this is the reason why I consider myself as at a distance from Magdeburgh. Last year these same ideas became suddenly clear, and then I imagined that I was travelling to Magdeburgh, and that I remained there several days. This journey, however, was an illusion merely, for my soul never stirs from its place. It is likewise an illusion when you imagine yourself absent from Berlin, because the confused representation of certain monads excites an obscure idea of Berlin, which you have only to clear up, and that instant you are at Berlin. Nothing more is necessary. What we call journeys, and on which we spend so much money, is an illusion."

The absurdities of a system which would admit of such perversion of truth, would not seem to demand exposure. Yet the authority of its inventors, and the celebrity of some of its followers, among whom Wolfius was not the least, required something of the kind from Euler. He accordingly attacks the whole system with his wonted vigour and boldness, ridiculing its extravagances and detecting its sophisms with great point and acuteness. The principle of the sufficient reason has been employed by the supporters of the monadologia, for the purpose of proving bodies as mere phenomena of monads. The reply of Euler is at once keen and just:

"Bodies, say they, must have their sufficient reason somewhere; but if they were divisible to infinity, such reason could not take place; and hence they conclude, with an air altogether philosophical, *that as every thing must have its sufficient reason, it is absolutely necessary that all bodies should be composed of monads*—which was to be demonstrated. This, I must admit, is a demonstration not to be resisted.

"It were greatly to be wished that a reasoning so slight could elucidate to us questions of this importance; but I frankly confess I comprehend nothing of the matter. They talk of the sufficient reason of bodies, by which they mean to reply to a certain *wherefore*, which remains unexplained. But it would be proper, undoubtedly, clearly to understand and carefully to examine a question, before a reply is attempted; in the present case, the answer is given before the question is formed.

"It is asked, why do bodies exist? it would be ridiculous in my opinion to reply, Because they are composed of monads; as if they contained the cause of that existence. Monads have not created bodies; and when I ask, Why such a being exists? I see no other reason that can be given but this—Because the Creator has given it existence; and as to the manner in which creation is performed, philosophers, I think, would do well to acknowledge their ignorance.

"But they maintain that God could not have produced bodies without having created monads, which were necessary to form the composition of them. This manifestly supposes that bodies are composed of monads, the points which they meant to prove by this reasoning."—Vol. II. pp. 50, 51.

The absurdity of the system of monads is at once evident from the denial of that property of body, which is the especial one by which we recognize its existence—namely, extension. Reasoning from the indivisibility of matter, the founders of the doctrine were forced to this strange assumption; and have put forth their theory as a fit and sufficient explanation of the common error, as they considered it, of mankind, in regard to the reality of extension. “It is an extravagance,” says our author, “similar to that imputed formerly to the Epicurean philosophers, who maintained the doctrine that every thing which exists in the universe is material, without even excepting the gods, whose existence they admitted. But as they saw these corporeal gods would be subject to the greatest difficulties, they invented a subterfuge similar to that of our modern philosophers, alleging that the gods had not bodies, but, *as it were*, bodies (*quasi corpora*) and that they had not senses, but *quasi sensus*; and so of all the members.” The doctrine of monads is altogether avoided by that of the divisibility of extension *in infinitum*, which at once destroys the foundation upon which the former is built. So irrefutable is the argument of Euler upon this most important ground, and so fair is it as a specimen of his style and manner, that we make no apology for the following extract, which embraces his reasoning upon this point:

“Whoever is disposed to deny this property of extension is under the necessity of maintaining that it is possible to arrive at last to parts so minute as to be unsusceptible of any further division, because they cease to have any extension. Nevertheless all these particles taken together must reproduce the whole, by the division of which you acquired them; and as the quantity of each would be a *nothing* or *cipher* 0, a combination of ciphers would produce quantity, which is manifestly absurd. For you know perfectly well that in arithmetic two or more ciphers joined never produce any thing.

“This opinion, that in the division of extension, or of any quantity whatever, we may come at last to particles so minute as to be no longer divisible, because they are so small, or because quantity no longer exists, is therefore a position absolutely untenable.

“In order to render the absurdity of it more sensible, let us suppose a line of an inch long divided into a thousand parts, and that these parts are so small as to admit of no further division; each part, then, would no longer have any length, for if it had any it would still be divisible. Each particle, then, would of consequence be a nothing. But if these thousand particles together constituted the length of an inch, the thousandth part of an inch would of consequence be a nothing; which is equally absurd with maintaining that the half of any quantity whatever is nothing. And if it be absurd to affirm that the half of any quantity is nothing, it is equally so to affirm that the half of a half, or that the fourth part of the same quantity is nothing; and what must be granted to the fourth must likewise be granted with respect to the thousandth and the millionth part. Finally, however far you may have already carried in the imagination the division of an inch, it is always possible to carry it still farther; and never will you be able to carry on your subdivision so far as that the last parts shall be absolutely indivisible. These parts will undoubtedly always become smaller, and their magnitude will approach nearer and nearer to 0, but never can reach it.



"The geometrician, therefore, is warranted in affirming that every magnitude is divisible to infinity; and that you cannot proceed so far in your division as that all further division shall be impossible. But it is always necessary to distinguish between what is possible in itself, and what we are in a condition to perform. Our execution is indeed extremely limited. After having, for example, divided an inch into a thousand parts, these parts are so small as to escape our senses; and a further division would to us, no doubt, be impossible.

"But you have only to look at this thousandth part of an inch through a good microscope, which magnifies, for example, a thousand times, and each particle will appear as large as an inch to the naked eye; and you will be convinced of the possibility of dividing each of these particles again into a thousand parts; the same reasoning may always be carried forward without limit and without end."—Vol. II. pp. 34, 35, 36.

Turning from these controversies, more perhaps of past than of present moment, though still of some interest, we find in the Letters of Euler, suggestions of a character which require at least a cursory notice. He has embraced in his course of natural philosophy, not only those subjects which appropriately arrange themselves under that head, but also some of a different description, and which partake of an ethical or metaphysical character. Among such are those on the nature and liberty of spirits; on the best world possible, and the origin of evil; on the connexion between soul and body; on the destination of man; on the reality of what we perceive by the senses, and on moral certainty. Great scope is consequently given for the exercise of those powers of nice discrimination as to abstract truth, which he possessed in a remarkable degree, and which too frequently drew him from the precise subject which he undertook to discuss. Like a giant, wantoning in his prowess, he takes up these digressive but most difficult inquiries as a by-play, and disposes of them after his usual clear and complete method. If he be not always correct, he at least leaves, with every topic he discusses, a most favourable idea of his great intellectual strength.

Euler was a stern advocate for the immateriality of the soul. A leading principle upon which he relied in this belief, was the peculiar property which he attributed to bodies,—that of *inertia*. He rightly argued that this was a sufficient ground of distinction between the two classes of existence. We know little of the pure nature either of corporeal or incorporeal substances; and as to our notions of their existence, it is not necessary that we should have any greater knowledge; for they are founded upon what appears to our senses. We observe that the one class fulfils conditions that are very different. This is sufficient to distinguish them,—the one from the other. We call air, *air*, and water, *water*, and attach to each peculiar elementary properties; but it does not alter our notions of their distinct character, that chemical analysis has discovered that there is one constituent in both, which is identical. If we perceive a real point of difference, even in what the Monadists style the phenomena of things, there is suffi-



cient ground to suppose, and it is a law of that mind which has studied the relation of things to suppose, that there is a difference in the causes which severally produce them. To argue thus from appearances, we know is not always safe, but the unanimous decision of all mankind upon them, we consider ever to be a criterion of truth. The observations of Euler have reference to this mode. "There is," says he, "an infinite difference between body and spirit. Extention, *inertia*, and impenetrability—qualities which exclude all thoughts—are the properties of body; but spirit is endowed with the faculty of thinking, of judging, of reasoning, of feeling, of reflecting, of willing, or of determining in favour of one object preferably to another. There is here neither extension, nor *inertia*, nor impenetrability; these material qualities are infinitely remote from spirit. It is asked, what is spirit? I acknowledge my ignorance in respect of this; and I reply, 'That we cannot tell what it is, as we know nothing of the nature of spirit.'" Euler locates the soul in the brain, at the point of termination of the nerves.

Like most of the philosophers of his age, our author was somewhat of a theologian. Without resorting to the strange, not to say impious, opinion, that God is the author of all moral evil, he avoids the dilemma which is supposed to present itself in a very simple and clear exposition of the question. Those who have condemned attempts of this nature, as superseding the authority of revelation,—and among whom we perceive that the very respectable editor of the American edition is to be ranked,—confound questions of an entirely different nature. The manner in which sin was first introduced into the world is one thing; how the rise of evil is consistent with the goodness of God, is another, and one totally distinct; for there may have been different causes or methods by which evil was introduced, but there could hardly have been different grounds of consistency in regard to the works of our Creator. Euler, therefore, does not "neglect altogether the cause assigned for the origin of evil in more inspired writings," inasmuch as the subject does not come before him in that aspect. He canvasses the mere speculative questions respecting the sovereign goodness of God.

"God," says he, "is supremely good and holy; He is the author of the world, and that world swarms with crimes and calamities. These are three truths which it is apparently difficult to reconcile; but in my opinion a great part of the difficulty vanishes as soon as we have formed a just idea of spirit, and of the liberty so essential to it, that God himself cannot divest it of this quality.

"God having created spirits, and the souls of men, I remark, first, that spirits are beings infinitely more excellent than bodies; and, secondly, that, at the moment of creation, spirits were all good: for time is requisite to the formation of evil inclinations: there is, therefore, no difficulty in affirming that God created spirits. But it being the essence of spirits to be free, and

liberty not being capable of subsisting without a power to sin, to create a spirit possessed of the power of sinning has nothing inconsistent with divine perfection, because a spirit could not be created, destitute of that power.

"God has, besides, done every thing to prevent crimes, by prescribing to spirits precepts, the observance of which must always render them good and happy. There is no other method of treating spirits, which cannot be subject to any constraint; and if some of them have abused their liberty, and transgressed these commandments, they are responsible for it, and worthy of punishment, without any impeachment of the Deity.

"There remains only one objection more to be considered—namely, that it would have been better not to create such spirits, as God foresaw they must sink into criminality. But this far surpasses human understanding; for we know not whether the plan of the world could subsist without them. We know, on the contrary, by experience, that the wickedness of some men frequently contributes to the correction and amendment of others, and thereby conducts them to happiness. This consideration alone is sufficient to justify the existence of evil spirits. And as God has all power over the consequences of human wickedness, every one may rest assured, that in conforming to the commandments, all events which come to pass, however calamitous they may appear to him, are always under the direction of Providence, and finally terminate in his true happiness."—Vol. I. pp. 297, 298.

These volumes are, for the most part, taken up with an exposition of the principles of natural philosophy; but we mean not to detain our readers upon what to them can be neither new nor interesting. Since the period in which Euler wrote, great additions have been made to the history of science; new phenomena have been discovered, and the principles upon which they depend have been evolved and explained. A new character has been given to many parts of natural philosophy, and the conjectural doctrines which were then urged have been misplaced by the unerring inductions of experimental philosophy. Thus Euler very dogmatically assumes, that the source of all the phenomena of electricity must be looked for only in that certain fluid and subtle matter which he denominates ether. The system which he builds upon this assumption is certainly ingenious: but whatever assistance the elasticity of ether and the porosity of matter may have rendered him in perfecting it, still this figment of a teeming brain has been found wanting, and has yielded to the more recent discoveries of observation and experiment. In its limited field, the natural philosophy of the book must be pronounced, in general, most admirable. The nature and laws of sound, the laws of air, the nature of colours, and the explanation of the various phenomena of catoptrics and dioptrics, the action of quantity and the principles of universal gravitation, the nature of motion, the method of obtaining latitude and longitude, and the laws of magnetism and the like, as there stated and explained, are calculated to interest the student, and to satisfy his inquiries.

In contemplating the gradual advancement of science and the certain and increased benefits which it is conferring upon man,

multiplying his social comforts, diminishing his labours, and affording both leisure and inducements to moral and intellectual culture, great cause certainly exists for bright hope and expectation. An indirect influence which this state of things exerts, is to equalize and to bring in more intimate brotherhood, the members of the society in which it exists. The humblest cottager now enjoys the pleasures of life, to a degree that kings barbaric, whose pearls and gold are but a mere display of petty superiority of power, could not effect. The infant may lisp truths more profound than sage philosophers afore-time ever imagined. Mankind thus generally advance; the barriers which factitious and fortuitous merit may have interposed between individuals, have given way; and the dependence of every one upon others, in a greater or less degree, being thus secured, the bonds of social feeling have been drawn closer and more close around the great human family.

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ART. II.—*The Life of John Jay: with Selections from his Correspondence and Miscellaneous Papers.* By his Son, WILLIAM JAY. In 2 vols. New York, 1833.

DEEMING it both an instructive and agreeable exercise, we have heretofore presented to the notice of our readers a sketch of the lives and political sentiments of some of the fathers of our revolution—have exhibited their opinions upon points of the doctrine of government, which have largely engaged the attention of the civilized world for half a century—and have laid open not only their ardent and active love of liberty, but also their noble disinterestedness in sacrificing the pride of individual opinion on what they believed the altar of the public good. The permanent welfare of the whole country was the high prize of their exertions. This welfare they identified with the intimate union of the states; a union which, without annihilating the state governments, should give existence to one of sufficient capacity and power to mature and enforce measures of extensive general importance. This common good they preferred to the supremacy of their private theories of abstract rights; and we are thus led to admire as much their passive virtues, so conspicuous in their moderation and total want of selfishness, as their active agency in the cause of their country.

Every thing concerning these illustrious men possesses matter of interest. It is therefore a laudable curiosity which prompts us to become fully acquainted with their private and real sentiments, not only in regard to the general rights of man, but also those more special and minute principles involved in our present frame of go-

vernment. We do this from no desire particularly to praise, far less to blame any. Private opinions upon political subjects form an illegitimate standard by which to regulate our estimate of individual worth or probable usefulness in public life, if there be found sufficient personal integrity and talents to justify confidence. The true and important lesson to be deduced from all contemplations of this contrariety of opinion among distinguished men in other countries, as well as amongst the sages of our revolution, is that of charity for the political views of our neighbours; since the supposition is not extravagant, that one may discharge with fidelity and credit the duties of an office, however exalted, even though he may be opposed to universal suffrage, and be occasionally inclined to doubt whether the voice of the multitude be the voice of God. We believe that the utter and absolute proscription (founded on this difference of sentiment,) which is the curse of the politics of our country, will tend most materially to her ruin. The good, the honest, and the high-minded, will be discarded from place and from power, and every thing will be left in the hands of those who, looking only at the spoils of victory, will forget the national cause in the gratification of their selfish passions.

A record of their acts and opinions has been fortunately furnished us in the instances of several of those whose memories will never die in our land; but upon many others, and of high note, the pen of the biographer has, as yet, been unemployed. Materials for this important task still exist, which time may scatter or utterly destroy. Our author in his preface well remarks, that, "The generation by whom the independence of these United States was established and secured, is rapidly passing away; and before long we shall seek in vain for a patriot of the revolution to receive our homage, or to answer our inquiries respecting the important events in which he participated." For ourselves, we shall hail with eager pleasure all proper attempts to snatch from oblivion the memorials of the infant days of our freedom. Of none could such a record be more gratefully received—because, with a single exception, none were more publicly and privately illustrious—than of chief justice Jay. We shall offer to our readers a brief sketch of his life, with such notices of his political opinions and character, and remarks upon the book itself, as our limits will allow.

The life of John Jay occupies one of two large volumes, the second being filled with extracts from his miscellaneous and official correspondence. This was, of course, from his unusually long life, and the many conspicuous situations he held, very extensive and diversified. He was in constant epistolary intercourse with the most distinguished men of his age, as well of other countries as of his own, and with the latter on a footing of the most intimate and confidential correspondence. The work discloses therefore a mass



of interesting matter. The life of the chief justice is sufficiently well written by his son; embracing all the important events of his career, and conveying much useful incidental information. It is marked with the political sentiments of Mr. Jay, and of the party of which he was so long an active and influential member. The biographer enters warmly, too, into some personal controversies in which his father was involved. This was to be expected. Upon some points of doctrine and discussion, we shall not differ from our author; in regard to others, where a difference of sentiment exists between us, our views shall be freely expressed.

The ancestors of John Jay were French Protestants, who fled from their homes upon the revocation of the edict of Nantes, and took refuge in England; thence they emigrated to America. They settled in the state of New York, and in conjunction with others, who, like themselves, were refugees, founded the town of New Rochelle, in Westchester county in that state. The father of our subject was named Peter Jay; by profession a merchant; who amassed a considerable fortune, and purchased a farm at Rye, in the neighbourhood of New Rochelle and on the shores of Long Island Sound, whither he retired from the cares of business. John was the eighth child, and was born in the city of New York, on the 12th day of December, 1745. Two of Mr. Jay's children, a boy and a girl, who were unfortunately in their infancy deprived of their sight by an attack of the small-pox, were always, when John's age and means permitted, objects of his tender solicitude. Both the mother and father of Jay were actuated by sincere and fervent piety; and most probably to their early instructions was he indebted for the marked devotion to his religious duties, which was a distinguishing trait of his character.

The education he received was the best which the circumstances of the times afforded. He was, when very young, exceedingly grave and fond of learning, and supplied any deficiencies in the means of instruction at that period by his own studious application. On the 15th of May, 1764, he graduated at King's (now Columbia) College as A.B.; and, on the occasion delivered the Latin salutatory oration, which was the mark of the first honour having been conferred upon him. He immediately entered upon the study of the law in the city of New York, under the direction of Benjamin Kissam, Esq., and in 1768 was admitted to the practice of his profession, which soon became extensive and lucrative. His time, at this period, was much occupied with his duties as secretary to the commissioners who had been named by the king to settle the disputed boundary between New Jersey and New York.

In the year 1774, Mr. Jay was married to Sarah, the youngest daughter of William Livingston, a distinguished patriot, and after-

wards for many years governor of New Jersey.\* His dreams of happiness from this connexion were fully realized.

It will not be necessary for us, as it would be but the repetition of very familiar history, to enter upon any general view of the American revolution, of the causes of discontent, or the discordant views of the people of the States. It is sufficient for our purpose to state merely the agency of Jay in the great work; and it is almost superfluous to premise, that from the very first moment in which a sense began to be entertained of injury suffered through the conduct of the mother country, John Jay took his station in the ranks of those who were determined to stand or fall with America.

The passage of the Boston Port Bill (March 31, 1774), it is well known, first convinced the people of the colonies of the feelings of the British ministry, and was an earnest of what might be expected in any event but that of unconditional submission to every encroachment. A meeting of the citizens of New York was called for the purpose of consultation on the measures proper to be pursued in this emergency. A committee of fifty were appointed to correspond with the sister colonies "on all matters of moment." This was the first body organized in New York, in resistance to measures which resulted in war and independence. Jay was of this committee, and also of a sub-committee to prepare answers to whatever letters might be received. They were soon earnestly and constantly at work. Their proceedings are extant in minute books, preserved in the Library of the New York Historical Society, and form documents of very great interest.

On the 23d of May, this sub-committee reported the draught of an answer to a communication which had been received from a committee at Boston. We refer to this paper, which is said to have been from Jay's pen, because it contains the first proposition that was made to convoke a general congress to deliberate on the measures proper for the crisis. The conduct of England towards the people of Massachusetts was viewed as an injury to all the states; and regarding it in this light, the committee recommended that the people of all the colonies should join in a common resistance in what they felt to be a common cause. The recommendation is in these words:

"Upon these reasons we conclude that a CONGRESS OF DEPUTIES FROM THE COLONIES IN GENERAL is of the utmost moment; that it ought to be assembled without delay, and some unanimous resolutions formed in this fatal emergency, not only respecting your deplorable circumstances, but for the security of our common rights."

\* A review of his life appeared in the September number (1833) of this Journal.

He was shortly afterwards elected a delegate from the city and county of New York to the Continental Congress. One word here as to a particular measure which was adopted by that body, and which met the warm approval of Jay, and of the large mass of the people, and yet of the inexpediency of which there can be no doubt. We refer to the non-importation agreement, which was deemed almost a panacea of the grievances under which our countrymen laboured. It is perfectly clear, that no long and disastrous war was anticipated, but rather a contest of commercial restrictions. They therefore debarred themselves completely of all those necessities of life and munitions of war, the want of which was afterwards found so detrimental to the American cause; the situation of the country being then such, that foreign manufactories were the only source of supply. Thanks to the foresight and perseverance of the advocates of home manufactures, the difficulties which we encountered in two wars from our dependence on markets abroad, can never again recur; our country being fortunately now, in this respect, as in all others, independent of the rest of the world.

As we have adverted to the idea entertained by the colonists in the outset of the disturbances, of the character of the contest with the mother country, we will take this occasion of presenting the matter in its true light, particularly as it has been misunderstood by several, principally foreign, writers; Botta, among the rest. They have attributed the war of independence to a desire of separation from England, which, originating at the moment of colonization, awaited the first favourable opportunity of being gratified; and that, therefore, the revolution was the result of original, preconceived, and perhaps preconcerted plans on the part of the colonists. This was far from being the case. The war of the revolution arose from assaults and encroachments, by England, upon the liberties of the Americans, of which, undoubtedly, they entertained a more clear and more jealous perception than any other people; a jealousy in a great measure arising from their origin itself. They resisted these encroachments, for the purpose of obtaining their abandonment; and did not, for a considerable period, entertain, much less forward, the idea of complete separation, which they adopted only when it became apparent that it was the sole method of securing and perpetuating their privileges and rights. We have abundant and conclusive evidence upon the point. Mr. Jay wrote thus to Mr. George. A. Otis:

“Explicit professions and assurances of allegiance and loyalty to the sovereign (especially since the accession of king William), and of affection for the mother country, abound in the journals of the colonial legislatures, and of the congresses and conventions, from early periods to the second petition of congress in 1775.

“If these professions and assurances were sincere, they afford evidence



more than sufficient to invalidate the charge of our desiring and aiming at independence.

"If, on the other hand, these professions and assurances were factitious and deceptive, they present to the world an unprecedented instance of long-continued, concurrent, and detestable duplicity in the colonies. Our country does not deserve this odious and disgusting imputation. During the course of my life, and until after the second petition of congress, in 1775, I never did hear any American of any class, or of any description, express a wish for the independence of the colonies.

"Few Americans had more, or better means and opportunities of becoming acquainted with the sentiments and dispositions of the colonists, relative to public affairs, than Dr. Franklin. In a letter to his son, dated the 22d March, 1775, he relates a conversation which he had with Lord Chatham in the preceding month of August. His lordship having mentioned an *opinion* prevailing in England, that America aimed at setting up for herself as an *independent* state, the doctor thus expressed himself: 'I assured him, that having more than once travelled almost from one end of the continent to the other, and kept a great variety of company, eating, drinking, and conversing with them freely, I never had heard in any conversation from any person, drunk or sober, the least expression of a wish for separation, or a hint that such a thing would be advantageous to America.'

"It does not appear to me necessary to enlarge further on this subject. It has always been and still is my opinion and belief, that our country was prompted and impelled to *independence* by necessity, and not by *choice*. They who know how we were then circumstanced, know from whence that necessity resulted."

We have, in addition, the testimony of John Adams:

"I cannot refrain from expressing the pleasure I have received from the reasoning of Mr. Jay upon the passage in Botta, 'that anterior to the revolution there existed in the colonies a desire of independence.' There is great ambiguity in this expression, 'there existed in the colonies a desire of *independence*.' It is true, there always existed in the colonies a desire of independence of parliament in the articles of internal taxation and internal policy, and a very general, if not an universal opinion, that they were constitutionally entitled to it, and as general a determination, if possible, to maintain and defend it; but there never existed a desire of independence of the crown, or of general regulations of commerce, for the equal and impartial benefit of all parts of the empire. It is true, there might be times and circumstances in which an individual or a few individuals might entertain and express a wish, that America was independent in all respects; but these were '*rari nantes in gurgite vasto*.' For example, in one thousand seven hundred and fifty-six, seven, and eight, the conduct of the British generals Shirley, Braddock, Loudon, Webb, and Abercrombie, was so absurd, disastrous, and destructive, that a very general opinion prevailed that the war was conducted by a mixture of ignorance, treachery, and cowardice; and *some persons* wished we had nothing to do with Great Britain for ever. Of this number, I distinctly remember, I was myself one; fully believing that we were able to defend ourselves against the French and Indians, without any assistance or *embarrassments* from Great Britain. In fifty-eight and fifty-nine, when Amherst and Wolfe had changed the fortune of the war, by a more able and faithful conduct of it, I again rejoiced in the name of Briton, and should have rejoiced in it to this day, had not the king and parliament committed high treason and rebellion against America, as soon as they had conquered Canada and made

peace with France. That there existed a general desire of independence of the crown, in any part of America, before the revolution, is as far from truth as the zenith is from the nadir. The encroaching disposition of Great Britain, it was early foreseen by many wise men in all the states, would one day attempt to enslave them by an unlimited submission to parliament, and rule them with a rod of iron; that this attempt would produce resistance on the part of America, and an awful struggle, was also foreseen, but dreaded and deprecated as the greatest calamity that could befall them. For my own part, there was not a moment during the revolution when I would not have given every thing I possessed for a restoration to the state of things before the contest began, provided we could have had a sufficient security for its continuance," &c. &c.

Hear also what Mr. Jefferson says upon this point:

"I confirm, by my belief, Mr. Jay's criticisms on the passages quoted from Botta. I can answer for its truth from this state southwardly, and northwardly, I believe, to New York, for which state Mr. Jay himself is a competent witness. What, eastward of that, might have been the dispositions towards England before the commencement of hostilities, I know not; before that I never had heard a whisper of a disposition to separate from Great Britain; and after that, its possibility was contemplated with affliction by all," &c.

To return to Mr. Jay's life.

He took his seat in Congress at Philadelphia, on the 5th of September, 1774, being the first day of its session. Jay was then in the twenty-ninth year of his age, and supposed to be the youngest member of the house. He outlived them all by a number of years.

Upon all important committees, so high was the sense entertained by Congress of his ability, prudence and patriotism, John Jay was placed; and of many he acted as chairman. Our author says:

"The first act of Congress was to appoint a committee 'to state the rights of the colonies in general; the several instances in which those rights are violated or infringed; and the means most proper to be pursued for obtaining a restoration of them.' Mr. Jay was placed on this committee; and soon after on a committee for drafting an address to the people of Great Britain, and a memorial to the people of British America. The address to the people of Great Britain was assigned by the committee to Mr. Jay. The occasion, the subject, his own youth, and this his first appearance in the national councils, all united in demanding from him the utmost exertion of his powers. To secure himself from interruption, he left his lodgings, and shut himself up in a room in a tavern; and there composed that celebrated state-paper; not less distinguished for its lofty sentiments, than for the glowing language in which they are expressed. The address was reported by the committee, and adopted by Congress, and immediately led to much inquiry and discussion respecting the author. Mr. Jefferson, while still ignorant of the author, declared it to be "a production certainly of the finest pen in America."\*

Of all the numerous committees in New York, which the exi-

\* Jefferson's Writings, vol. i. p. 8.

gencies of the times and the recommendation of Congress called into existence, Jay was a member. Immediately upon the dissolution of the first Congress, he was chosen a delegate to the new Congress, which was to assemble at Philadelphia on the 10th of May, 1775; and he was also appointed one of the "Committee of Association" of the city of New York, invested with general undefined powers. Congress having found it necessary to raise an army, even to act successfully on the defensive, and Washington being selected as commander-in-chief, it was thought proper, in the distribution of offices, to appoint a brigadier-general from New Hampshire. No one from that state was known to the members as possessing the requisite military talents. Mr. Jay nominated John Sullivan, saying, that his good sense was familiar to the house, and that he would take his chance for his military talents. The recommendation was concurred in, and general Sullivan's active career fully justified Mr. Jay's discernment.

The abilities of Mr. Jay in composition being already fully manifest, his pen was put in constant requisition by Congress, in the preparation of the numerous addresses which the peculiarity of their situation called upon them to issue to the world. He was accordingly requested to write an address to the people of Canada, and another to those of Ireland. He did so. From the latter we shall offer an extract, principally for the purpose of presenting a sample of his powers of composition. His style was always nervous; and in the efforts of his younger years, quite impassioned. It will be seen, also, in reading the different effusions of his pen, that he was remarkably fond, and frequent in the use, of scriptural phrases. When properly applied in grave and weighty discussions, they add, undoubtedly, to the solemnity and force of the expressions. It is, moreover, interesting to recur to their language, as indicative of the feelings of our countrymen in those trying seasons. In a part of his address to the inhabitants of Ireland, he said:

"Congress agreed to suspend all trade with Great Britain, Ireland, and the West Indies. And here permit us to assure you, that it was with the utmost reluctance we could prevail upon ourselves to cease our commercial connexion with your island. *Your* parliament had done us no wrong. *You* had ever been friendly to the rights of mankind; and we acknowledge with pleasure and gratitude that your nation has produced patriots who have nobly distinguished themselves in the cause of humanity and America. On the other hand, we were not ignorant that the labour and manufactures of Ireland, like those of the silk-worm, were of little moment to herself, but served only to give luxury to those who neither toil nor spin. We perceived that if we continued our commerce with you, our agreement not to import from *Britain* must be fruitless. Compelled to behold thousands of our countrymen imprisoned, and men, women, and children in promiscuous and unmerited misery—when we find all faith at an end, and sacred treaties turned into tricks of state—when we perceive our friends and kinsmen massacred, our habitations plundered, our houses in flames, and their once happy inhabitants fed only by



the hand of charity—who can blame us for endeavouring to restrain the progress of the desolation? Who can censure us for repelling the attacks of such a barbarous band? Who in such circumstances would not obey the great, the universal, the divine law of self-preservation? Though vilified as wanting spirit, we are determined to behave like men; though insulted and abused, we wish for reconciliation; though defamed as seditious, we are ready to obey the laws; and though charged with rebellion, will cheerfully bleed in defence of our sovereign in a righteous cause. What more can we say—what more can we offer?

“We know that *you* are not without your grievances. We sympathize with you in your distress, and are pleased to find that the design of subjugating us has persuaded administration to dispense to Ireland some vagrant rays of ministerial sunshine. Even the tender mercies of government have long been cruel towards you. In the fat pastures of Ireland many hungry paricides have fed and grown strong to labour in her destruction. We hope the patient abiding of the meek may not always be forgotten.”

The colonies entered upon the war without any expectation of foreign aid. A circumstance occurred in the year 1775, which led to the appointment of a committee, from whose labours important consequences resulted. We shall extract the anecdote, which, our author says, Mr. Jay used to relate.

“Some time in the course of this year, probably about the month of November, Congress was informed that a foreigner was then in Philadelphia, who was desirous of making to them an important and confidential communication. This intimation having been several times repeated, a committee consisting of Mr. Jay, Dr. Franklin, and Mr. Jefferson was appointed to hear what the foreigner had to say. These gentlemen agreed to meet him in one of the committee-rooms in Carpenter’s Hall. At the time appointed they went there, and found already arrived an elderly lame gentleman, having the appearance of an old wounded French officer. They told him they were authorized to receive his communication; upon which he said that his Most Christian Majesty had heard with pleasure of the exertions made by the American colonies in defence of their rights and privileges; that his majesty wished them success, and would, whenever it should be necessary, manifest more openly his friendly sentiments towards them. The committee requested to know his authority for giving these assurances. He answered only by drawing his hand across his throat, and saying, ‘Gentlemen, I shall take care of my head.’ They then asked what demonstrations of friendship they might expect from the king of France. ‘Gentlemen,’ answered the foreigner, ‘if you want arms, you shall have them; if you want ammunition, you shall have it; if you want money, you shall have it.’ The committee observed that these assurances were indeed important, but again desired to know by what authority they were made. ‘Gentlemen,’ said he, repeating his former gesture, ‘I shall take care of my head;’ and this was the only answer they could obtain from him. He was seen in Philadelphia no more. It was the opinion of the committee that he was a secret agent of the French court, and directed to give these indirect assurances, but in such a manner that he might be disavowed if necessary. Mr. Jay stated that his communications were not without their effect on the proceedings of this Congress. This remark probably related to the appointment, on the 29th of November, of a secret committee, including Mr. Jay, for corresponding ‘with the friends of America in Great Britain, Ireland, and *other parts* of the world.’”

Of all the states, New York was the least unanimous in the

cause of the revolution. The patriots, therefore, in that state, had the more arduous duties to perform, and the greater credit is due to them for their services under extreme difficulties. The severest measures (principally by the recommendation of Mr. Jay, but which the necessity of the case fully justified,) were adopted in regard to the tories. In the execution of these measures, the private feelings of Jay suffered severely, as unfortunately they affected many who were connected with him by the ties of friendship. In April, 1776, while attending in Congress, he was elected a representative from the city and county of New York to the convention of the colony; and shortly after to the new state convention to establish a form of government, which Congress had, by resolution, advised the several states to convene. As the state of affairs in New York required the presence and assistance of all the friends of liberty, Mr. Jay left his seat in Congress for the purpose of being present in his native state, where his aid was so much wanted. The convention of New York had been forced to remove from the city to White Plains, in consequence of the arrival of Lord Howe and his army off the harbour; and on the 9th of July they received the Declaration of Independence from Congress. The important document was at once referred to a committee, of which John Jay was chairman, and he, instantler, reported a resolution, that was unanimously adopted, and which we shall copy—

*“Resolved, unanimously, That the reasons assigned by the Continental Congress for declaring these united colonies free and independent states, are cogent and conclusive, and that while we lament the cruel necessity which has rendered this measure unavoidable, we approve the same, and will, at the risk of our lives and fortunes, join with the other colonies in supporting it.”*

*“Thus,”* says our author—

*“Although Mr. Jay was, by his recall from Congress, deprived of the honour of affixing his signature to the Declaration of Independence, he had the satisfaction of drafting the pledge given by his native state to support it; and this pledge, in his own handwriting, is preserved among the records of New York.”*

We have before adverted to the completely unprepared state of the country for war. It became necessary to take the bells from the churches, and the knockers from the doors, to be converted into cannon. The declaration of independence had placed the country in an entirely new relation with England and the rest of the world. No half-way measures could now be tolerated, or were longer useful. Mr. Jay, therefore, devoted himself, heart and soul, to the duties which the new crisis demanded. Impending dangers startled even the boldest; but in New York, where there were so many, not only lukewarm friends of America, but

even devoted partisans of the British crown, it became essential to excite, if possible, the slumbering feelings of patriotism. The convention of the state addressed their constituents; the paper was the production of Jay's pen, and is one of the most animated and thrilling documents to which that interesting period of our history gave birth. It is too long to be extracted, but it will remain a lasting monument of the ability and the fervid patriotism of John Jay. Congress resolved, that it be earnestly recommended to the serious perusal and attention of the inhabitants of the United States; and ordered it to be translated and printed in the German language at the expense of the continent.

We were struck, in reading the different public documents of our revolutionary era in which George III. of England was mentioned or referred to, with the peculiarly severe and harsh language employed in reference to him. He was called an unfeeling and savage tyrant, who was thirsting for the blood of his subjects. By no one were these epithets more lavishly employed than by Mr. Jay, and with particular force in the address we have just mentioned. These accusations were probably natural at the time, and produced a salutary effect upon the minds of the Americans; but they were certainly, as regards that individual, unmerited. The king himself was a weak man; but, in his private dispositions, good and amiable, any thing rather than savage or cruel. His ministers and the great majority of the English people, if the accusation were just, would, at least, share it with him. But, as we have said, it was not just. The encroachments and the tyranny of the British government were directed against abstract rights; private property and personal security were protected, or at least not assailed. The principle of the war was unique. The resistance of our people was not, on this account, the less justifiable or commendable; on the contrary, it is the rather to be admired. We have merely adverted to the topic, because the best historic evidence is undoubtedly adverse to the supposition then entertained by the Americans generally of George the Third's private temper and dispositions. Mr. Jay himself thought very differently of him in after life, when, as we shall see, he was brought personally in contact with him. He wrote thus to Washington of that monarch in the year 1795:

"Before I came here, I had no idea that the king was so popular as he is; his reign having been marked by national calamities produced by reprehensible measures. But his popularity is owing to his private, rather than his official character. As a man, there is much in him to commend; and I have not heard any vice imputed to him. As a domestic man, affectionate and attentive to his queen and children, and affable to all about him, he is universally esteemed. Few men are so punctual in all things. He patronizes the arts and sciences. He pays uncommon attention to agriculture, and delights in his farms. He lays out about ten thousand pounds a-year in improving and embellishing the royal estates. He is industrious, sober, and temperate, and



has acquired much various knowledge and information. He converses with ease, and often with adroitness, and has an uncommon memory; they who ought to know him concur in these accounts. That he is a great and a wise king, I have not heard asserted. That he does (to use a vulgar expression) as well as he knows how, seems not to be doubted; but yet some say, that he occasionally is cunning instead of being wise. I have heard him described as being a great man in little things; and as being generally well-intentioned, pertinacious, and persevering."

In the convention of his native state, a committee, of which Mr. Jay was chairman, reported, in the year 1777, a draught of a constitution. Some of his favourite political ideas, of which we intend to treat hereafter, were embodied in this instrument, which was adopted, with omissions that he regretted; particularly of the clause he had advocated against the continuance of domestic slavery. Under the new constitution, Jay was, at once, appointed chief justice, and, until the meeting of the legislature, composed one of the council of safety, in whose hands the whole power of the state was placed. He was, at this period, but about thirty-one years of age. He declined being a candidate for the office of governor. At the close of the year 1778, the legislature of New York, who were anxious to secure his services in a disputed claim with New Hampshire, to certain territory now constituting the state of Vermont, sent him as a special delegate to Congress, whose members, three days after his arrival, elected him president of their body. Considering his prolonged residence at Philadelphia inconsistent with the duties of the chief justiceship, he resigned that situation. At the request of Congress, he addressed a circular to the states upon the subject of the public credit and the currency, which was marked with great ability.

The course of affairs now carried Mr. Jay to foreign parts. By a secret article in the treaty between France and the United States, a right was reserved to Spain of acceding to the treaty; and this being judged a desirable measure by Congress, Jay was selected as minister plenipotentiary to invite his catholic majesty to a participation in the stipulations of the convention made with France. He sailed for the latter country on the 20th of October, 1779, and did not return home until after the treaty of peace with England.

Our limits do not allow us to enter into any detailed statement of Mr. Jay's negotiations, or of the difficulties which attended them, and which would have utterly disheartened any but a devoted patriot. The chief aim of the embassy was to procure a supply of money; but the Spanish court either had none, or was unwilling to part with any but a very trifling amount. Reduced to the greatest distress through the want of means to carry on the war, Congress, having tried every possible expedient, resorted to the very unusual procedure of drawing bills upon their minister in Spain for more than half a million of dollars, without advising him

of their intention, and leaving him to meet their payment as best he could. The embarrassments which this measure caused Mr. Jay may be easily imagined. He however assumed the responsibility of accepting the bills, and devoted all his energies to the raising of the necessary funds. In this object he found a most efficient, and, in fact, indispensable coadjutor in Dr. Franklin, then at Paris, whose services throughout the whole war to his country can never be over-estimated by a grateful posterity.

A detail of the negotiations which finally resulted in the treaty of 1783 with Great Britain, and the acknowledgment of our independence, would also consume more space than we have at our disposal. A few words therefore may suffice upon this point. The instructions which Congress felt itself bound, under a pressure of difficulties, great and embarrassing, to give their ministers, in regard to acting and governing themselves by the advice and opinion of the ministers of the king of France, it is known, met with the hearty indignation of others besides Mr. Jay. This gentleman, together with Dr. Franklin, Mr. Jefferson, and Mr. Laurens, had been associated with Mr. Adams for the purpose of negotiating the treaty. We have quoted before\* the sentiments of Gouverneur Morris, expressed to Mr. Jay, upon what he considered a surrender of national dignity. Mr. Jay fully responded to him, and, finally, with the concurrence of Dr. Franklin and Mr. Adams, took upon himself the responsibility of disregarding them. Mr. Jay had decided convictions of the bad faith of the French court throughout the negotiation. His biographer has followed his views, and has also rather given currency to the suspicions which his father entertained of the too great subserviency of Dr. Franklin to the wishes of the French court, which Jay thought to be opposed to our true interests. This imputation upon the character of Dr. Franklin is totally unwarranted. No truer, and what is of equal importance in all national contests, no wiser patriot ever existed. His services to his country were incalculable from the very commencement of the troubles. His wisdom devised most important measures, which his talents accomplished. It is undoubtedly true that he entertained a most grateful feeling of the services which France rendered to his country throughout the war; and was anxious to make every acknowledgment for them not inconsistent with national honour and good. Of her sincere regard, too, for the interests of the United States, he was firmly convinced; and was therefore unwilling to adopt any course which evinced suspicions of her candour. The doctor's mind was eminently practical. He permitted no trivial or superficial considerations to interfere with the substantial end he had in view. His exertions were ever directed to the attainment of that, particularly where expedition

\* In the June number of this Review for the year 1832, p. 468.

was of chief importance. It is not to be forgotten, moreover, that the final arrangement had his approbation.

Any discussion, however, of the patriotism of Dr. Franklin's conduct in the negotiation of the treaty of 1783, is superfluous, if the French court were really sincere in their conduct towards our country, and had no sinister designs to gratify at our expense. This, which, as we have said, Dr. Franklin believed, we suppose to have been the case. We will not detain our readers with a minute statement of facts and reasoning, which they will find in a work we have before commended to their notice. To Mr. Spark's investigations and remarks upon this head, in his life of Gouverneur Morris, we would refer, as explanatory and confirmatory of our own impressions.

Of the purity and magnanimity of John Jay's conduct in the same difficult and responsible negotiation, we are equally convinced. The course he assumed was bold and independent; dictated by the most exalted views of the dignity of his native country. Of the policy of his conduct, little need now be said; as the conclusion of the affair was all that any American could have wished. The necessities of the British government compelled them to waive preliminaries unimportant to them, which were suggested merely as slight salvos to the haughty importance of their nation. As independence was to be substantially acknowledged, the form of doing it was not a matter of moment. What might have been the opinion formed by his countrymen of Mr. Jay's course, had minor difficulties broken off the treaty, it is useless to consider. It is but proper that his views upon this matter should be fully known, and we therefore refer those who feel curious about it to the long and interesting letter from him to Robert R. Livingston, to be found in the second volume of the work under review, page 456.

"On the 3d of September, 1783," says our author, "Mr. Jay had the gratification, in conjunction with his colleagues, of putting his name to an instrument that successfully closed the arduous contest, in which he had embarked at the first summons of his country, and in which he had zealously persevered at every hazard." His duties therefore being brought to a close in Europe, he, in the following spring, embarked at Dover, with his family, for New York. On his arrival, he found that he had been appointed by Congress secretary for foreign affairs, and also by the state of New York again a delegate to that body.

About this time the court of Spain showed an anxiety to commence negotiations with our country, which the latter, through her minister, Mr. Jay, had formerly solicited in vain. Don Diego Gardoqui was commissioned for that purpose, and came to Philadelphia. The discussions terminated in nothing decisive. We will extract the letter which Mr. Jay, as minister for foreign affairs, transmitted



to that gentleman, as it details the manner in which foreign ministers were then received by Congress.

“TO DON DIEGO, GARDOQUIL.

“*Office for Foreign Affairs, 21st June, 1785.*

“SIR,

“I have received the letter you did me the honour to write on the 2d June instant. The etiquette which will be observed on your reception by Congress is as follows, viz:

“At such time as may be appointed by Congress for a public reception, the secretary for foreign affairs will conduct you to the Congress chamber, to a seat to be placed for you, and announce you to Congress; the president and members keeping their seats and remaining covered. Your commission and letters of credence are then to be delivered to the secretary of Congress, who will read a translation of them, to be prepared by the secretary for foreign affairs, from the copies to be left with the president. You will then be at liberty to speak (and, if you please, deliver to the secretary of Congress in writing) what you may think proper to Congress, who will take what you say into consideration, and through the secretary for foreign affairs will communicate whatever answer they may resolve upon.

“When you retire, you will be reconducted by the secretary for foreign affairs. A visit will be expected by every member of Congress, as well those who may then be in town, as others who may afterward arrive during your residence here.

“I hope the state of your health will soon be such as to admit of your coming to this city, before the heats of summer render travelling disagreeable.

“It will give me great pleasure to take you by the hand, and to assure you in person of the esteem and regard with which I am,

“Dear sir,

“Your most obedient

“And very humble servant,

“JOHN JAY.”

Our author very properly remarks :

“The audience was had, and the part performed by Mr. Jay must have forcibly recalled to his mind the frequent warnings he had given the Spanish court of the rising greatness of the infant republic, as well as the indignities he had himself experienced as her representative. He had now the happiness of witnessing the legislators of his country assuming the part affected by monarchs, and listening to the plenipotentiary of Spain, standing uncovered before them, and declaring the affection of his master for them, his ‘great and beloved friends.’ To the speech of the minister no answer was returned directly by Congress, but a reply was sent to him in the name of the secretary for foreign affairs.”

Many pages of this part of Mr. Jay’s life are allotted to an account of the quarrel he had with a young man by the name of Littlepage. There is no doubt that this youth acted with ingratitude and great want of respect. It was not necessary, however, for the vindication of Jay’s character, that the details of this unpleasant affair should be republished to the world. We think it would have been better to omit them.

The evils of the confederation had become now so apparent, that every one called loudly for some alteration of the form of govern-

ment. We shall hereafter, when we come to detail Mr. Jay's political sentiments, present his views both upon that subject and the formation of a new constitution, as furnished in the book under review. His official situation requiring his attendance upon Congress, who then sat at New York, he was not included in the delegation from that state to the convention which held its meetings in Philadelphia. The earnest support, however, which he gave to the constitution when formed, is prominent on the pages of the *Federalist*. The constitution being recommended by Congress to a convention in each state, Jay was elected to that of New York. His exertions there, as well as those of his friends, Hamilton and Livingston, were unwearied and invaluable. It is known that the ratification of the constitution by New York was a work of extreme difficulty; that for a long time the chances were against that state becoming a member of our union; and that, finally, her assent was given to that instrument by a majority of only three votes. Mr. Jay was in constant correspondence with Washington during the whole time that the constitution was under consideration in the convention of New York. The eager anxiety manifested by that great man for the good of his country, which he identified with the adoption of that instrument, and the care with which he watched its discussion in his own state and elsewhere, may be judged of from the following letter to Mr. Jay:

“*Mount Vernon, June 8th, 1788.*

“DEAR SIR,

“By the last mail I had the pleasure to receive your letter of the 29th May, and have now the satisfaction to congratulate you on the adoption of the constitution by the convention of South Carolina.

“I am sorry to learn there is a probability that the majority of members in the New York convention will be anti-federalists. Still I hope that some event will turn up before they assemble which may give a new complexion to the business. If this state should in the intermediate time make the ninth that shall have ratified the proposed government, it will, I flatter myself, have its due weight. To show that this event is now more to be expected than heretofore, I will give you a few particulars which I have from good authority, and which you might not perhaps immediately obtain through any public channel of conveyance.

“On the day appointed for the meeting of the convention, a large proportion of the members assembled and unanimously placed Mr. Pendleton in the chair. Having on that and the subsequent day chosen the rest of their officers, and fixed upon the mode of conducting the business, it was moved by some one of those opposed to the constitution, to debate the whole by paragraphs, without taking any question until the investigation should be completed. This was as unexpected as acceptable to the federalists; and their ready acquiescence seems to have somewhat startled the opposition, for fear they had committed themselves.

“Mr. Nicholas opened the business by very ably advocating the system of representation. Mr. Henry, in answer, went more vaguely into the discussion of the constitution, intimating that the federal convention had exceeded their powers, and that we had been and might be happy under the old confederation, with a few alterations. This called up governor Randolph, who is

reported to have spoken with great pathos in reply; and who declared that, since so many of the states had adopted the proposed constitution, he considered the sense of America to be already taken, and that he should give his vote in favour of it, without insisting previously upon amendments. Mr. Mason rose in opposition, and Mr. Madison reserved himself to obviate the objections of Mr. Henry and Col. Mason the next day. Thus the matter rested when the last accounts came away. Upon the whole, the following inferences seem to have been drawn. That Mr. Randolph's declaration will have considerable effect with those who had hitherto been wavering; that Mr. Henry and Col. Mason took different and awkward ground, and by no means equalled the public expectation in their speeches; that the former has probably receded somewhat from his violent measures, to coalesce with the latter; and that the leaders of the opposition appear rather chagrined, and hardly to be decided as to their mode of opposition.

"The *sanguine* friends to the constitution counted upon a majority of twenty at their first meeting, which number they imagine will be greatly increased; while those equally strong in their wishes, but more temperate in their habits of thinking, speak less confidently of the greatness of the majority, and express apprehensions of the arts that may yet be practised to excite alarms, particularly with the members from the western district (Kentucky.) All, however, agree that the beginning has been as auspicious as could possibly have been expected. A few days will now ascertain us of the result.

"With sentiments of the highest esteem and regard,

"I am, dear sir,

"Your most obedient and

"Affectionate humble servant,

"GEORGE WASHINGTON."

The new government being now organized, Mr. Jay continued to act as secretary of state till Mr. Jefferson's return from France, and then, on the 26th of September, 1789, was appointed chief justice of the United States. The supreme court was organized on the 3d of April 1790, and on the 4th day of the same month, the chief justice held the first circuit court at New York. During his tour through New England in the execution of the duties of his office, he was every where received with full demonstrations of respect and attachment. Harvard University, in his instance, made a right use of her literary bounty, in presenting him with the diploma of Doctor of Laws.

The belligerent powers of Europe were now so situated with regard to the United States, that her foreign relations became an object of embarrassing arrangement and of extreme solicitude to all lovers of their country. It became essentially necessary for the nation to adopt a course consistent with her honour, and at the same time conducive to her own advantage. That of strict neutrality was the opinion of President Washington, and the one in which most of his cabinet united with him. It was thought best for the purpose of making the determination of the administration public, to issue to the world a proclamation of neutrality. This celebrated instrument was accordingly sent forth. It appears from the correspondence between Hamilton and Jay, which our author has given us, that the idea of the proclamation originated



with Mr. Hamilton, and that the first draught of it came from the pen of the chief justice. It was subsequently revised and re-written by the president.

The two great parties which for so long a time divided our country and embittered even the intercourse of private life, though they were coeval with the plan of a federal government, became more strikingly developed and opposed under the administration of Washington. The question of our foreign relations was one which was strongly agitated; and the French revolution and the wars consequent upon it afforded an extensive field for the display of opposing sentiments and passions. The course adopted by the anti-federalists (as they were originally called), or the republicans (as they designated themselves), or the democrats (as they have been subsequently styled), is matter of familiar history. The proclamation of neutrality, the subsequent negotiations with England, and, in fact, the whole plan of Washington as affecting our relations with other countries, were warmly opposed. Even his popularity was temporarily shaken; and no one, but such a man as he, could have stood the tempest. His embarrassing situation is known. Genet's mission and conduct—and the enthusiasm of a large party in favour of France, urged him on to take part with that country, at the same time that the aggressions of England offered additional inducements to the same course. He had, however, after full consideration, adopted a wise resolve. He determined to send a minister to England to negotiate a treaty, and nominated Mr. Jay. No one was better suited to the task. The senate by a large majority confirmed the appointment, Mr. Burr voting, with some others, in the minority.

The difficulties and length of his negotiation, and the character in general of the treaty which was the result of his labours, are too familiar to justify a repetition of them. We shall merely offer the remarks of the biographer upon an article of commerce mentioned in the treaty which has since been so fruitful of contention in our land. He says:

“It may seem singular that the American minister should have consented to prohibit the exportation of *cotton*, now one of the most important staples of his country. The explanation is at once curious and satisfactory. In the original draught of the treaty, the United States stipulated to prohibit during the continuance of the article, all ‘West India productions and manufactures.’ This expression was, on reflection, deemed too general, and it was thought best to specify the prohibited articles, and hence cotton was inserted as a West Indian production. The cultivation of this article had but recently been introduced into the United States, and the success of the experiment had not yet been fully tested. The cotton used in the United States was almost wholly brought from the West Indies. Of 404,135 pounds imported in 1792, 373,350 came from the islands. A few months before Mr. Jay's departure, Mr. Jefferson, the secretary of state, in a report to Congress on the Commerce of the United States, enumerated the exports of the country, but made no mention whatever of cotton. It was not at that time known as one of the

productions of the United States. It appears, indeed, from the custom-house returns, that small quantities of it had been sent abroad, but whether they were of foreign or domestic growth is not known."

The storm which the treaty raised among the opponents of the government has never had its parallel in any excitement of the people since, consequent upon the act of any administration. Every attempt, short of personal violence, was resorted to, to prevent the senate of the United States yielding it their sanction, but in vain; that body, on the 24th of June, 1795, advised the president to ratify it. The weapons of the Opposition were now turned against him; and the only gratifying reminiscence connected with the history of that period, is the spectacle of manly wisdom and firmness which that great man exhibited on this trying occasion. He took full time to deliberate—for his habit was to do nothing hastily—and finally, on the 15th of August, signed the treaty. It was during the suspension of his determination, and when the ignorance of many led them to suppose that he was wavering through fear of the popular indignation, that some of the inhabitants of a sister city undertook to remonstrate with him against yielding his assent to the instrument. The reply of Washington should never be forgotten :

"TO THE SELECTMEN OF THE TOWN OF BOSTON."

*"United States, 28th July, 1795.*

"GENTLEMEN,

"In every act of my administration I have sought the happiness of my fellow-citizens. My system for the attainment of this object has uniformly been, to overlook all personal, local, and partial considerations; to contemplate the United States as one great whole; to confide that sudden impressions, when erroneous, would yield to candid reflection; and to consult only the substantial and permanent interests of our country. Nor have I departed from this line of conduct on the occasion which has produced the resolutions contained in your letter of the 13th instant.

"Without a predilection for my own judgment, I have weighed with attention every argument which has at any time been brought into view; but the constitution is the guide which I never can abandon. It has assigned to the president the power of making treaties, with the advice and consent of the senate. It was doubtless supposed that these two branches of government would combine without passion, and with the best means of information, those facts and principles upon which the success of our foreign relations will always depend; that they ought not to substitute for their own conviction the opinions of others, or to seek truth through any channel but that of a temperate and well-informed investigation.

"Under this persuasion, I have resolved on the manner of executing the duty before me. To the high responsibility attached to it I freely submit; and you, gentlemen, are at liberty to make these sentiments known, as the grounds of my procedure. While I feel the most lively gratitude for the many instances of approbation from my country, I can no otherwise deserve it than by obeying the dictates of my conscience. With due respect,

"I am, gentlemen, your obedient,

"GEORGE WASHINGTON."

The attempts of the opposition to neutralize the operation of the treaty, notwithstanding its ratification by the president and senate, by means of a refusal on the part of the house of representatives to pass the laws proper to carry the treaty into effect—the call on the president for papers, made upon the assumption that it was optional with the house to pass such laws or not—the dignified refusal of that officer to comply with the request of the majority, and the final triumph of reason over passion in the complete execution of the treaty obligations of the Union, are succinctly related by our author. He furnishes also a detailed examination of the provisions of that celebrated convention, which it would be useless now to abstract. It will be found at page 377, et seq. of Vol. I. One deduction is very clear, that notwithstanding all the clamour which was raised against the negotiator and the administration, no more favourable commercial treaty has since been procured.

During all the time that Mr. Jay was in London, a confidential correspondence was carried on between him and Washington. Other important affairs engaged the anxious attention of the president, particularly the western insurrection: and the reader will find them alluded to in the president's letters. We shall proceed to make some extracts from this correspondence, premising that it was very apparent, both to Washington and Mr. Jay, that in the state of parties, it was impossible to form any treaty which would give general satisfaction. Mr. Jay wrote thus at different times from London:

"Perfectly apprised both of my duty and responsibility, I determined not to permit my judgment to be influenced by any considerations but those of public good, under the direction of my instructions. *I knew and know that no attainable settlement or treaty would give universal satisfaction*; and I am far from expecting that the one I have signed will not administer occasion for calumny and detraction.

"These are evils which they who serve the people will always meet with. Demagogues will constantly flatter the passions and prejudices of the multitude, and will never cease to employ improper arts against those who will not be their instruments. I have known many demagogues, but I have never known one honest man among them.

"These are among the other evils which are incident to human life, and none of them shall induce me to decline or abandon any pursuits, in which I may conceive it to be my duty to embark or persevere. All creatures will act according to their nature, and it is absurd to expect that a man who is not upright, will act like one who is. The time will come when all books, and histories, and errors will be consumed, and when from their ashes truth only will rise, and prevail, and be immortal."

Again, on the 6th of March 1795:

TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

[Private.]

*London, 6th March, 1795.*

"DEAR SIR,

"After considering all that I have heard and seen on the subject, it is my opinion that the common and popular (not official) language of America, rela-



tive to Great Britain, manifested such a disposition as to create serious apprehensions in this country that we should join with the French in the war; that these apprehensions gave occasion to secret designs, calculated on such an event; that in proportion as your views and counsels developed, these apprehensions gradually subsided; that my mission was regarded as a strong proof of your desire to preserve peace, and that the perfect and universal confidence reposed in your personal character, excluded every doubt of your being sincere; and that this government is not yet entirely convinced that a pacific and conciliatory system will be supported by the inclination and correspondent conduct of the great body of the people. Various circumstances, however, induce me to believe, that the cabinet ultimately determined to give conciliation a fair experiment, by doing us substantial justice, and by consenting to such arrangements favourable to us, as the national interests and habitual prejudices would admit. To relax the navigation act was to alarm these prejudices, and therefore was a measure which required caution and circumspection, especially in the first instance. To break the ice was the difficulty. To enlarge the aperture afterward would be more easy; and it will probably be done, if we should be reasonably temperate and prudent. To admit us into their East and West India dominions, and into all their continental American territories, under any modifications, were decided deviations from their former policy, and tended to shock ancient prejudices. Yet these things have been done. None but a strong administration would have ventured it. These are offerings to conciliation, and include, though not confessedly, satisfaction to our claims of justice.

"What passed at Paris on Mr. Monroe's arrival, I am persuaded made a strong and disagreeable impression; and had not your private character prevented those transactions from being imputable in any degree to your orders, I do believe that the system of conciliation would have been instantly abandoned.

"What would have succeeded it cannot be easily conjectured; certainly no treaty so favourable to us as the present would then have been attainable. Whatever the American opinion of it may prove to be, the administration here think it very friendly to us; and that it could not in the present moment have been made more so, without exciting great discontents and uneasiness in this country.

"The present situation of Great Britain may to us and others appear to be perilous, but the ministry seem to have no such fears. They have been uniformly bent on prosecuting the war with vigour, and since my arrival I have observed no change in that resolution. Even a distinguished leader in the opposition lately told me, that the French could not possibly injure the vitals of this country. Let it be infatuation, or what it will, the government and the great majority of this nation meant and mean to continue the war. I will mention a striking anecdote.

"You have doubtless heard that the merchants concerned in the American trade gave me a dinner. The principal cabinet ministers were present, and about two hundred merchants. Many toasts were given. When the 'President of the United States' was given, it was proposed to be with three cheers, but they were prolonged (as if by preconcert, but evidently not so) to six. Several other toasts passed with great acclamation, particularly, 'The wooden walls of Old England;' almost every toast referable to America, and manifesting a desire of conciliation and cordiality, met with general and strong marks of approbation. Towards the conclusion of the feast, I was asked for a toast; I gave a neutral one, viz., 'A safe and honourable peace to all the belligerent powers;' you cannot conceive how coldly it was received, and though civilty induced them to give it three cheers, yet they were so faint and single, as most decidedly to show that peace was not the thing they wished,—these were *merchants*. Mr. Pinckney was struck as forcibly by it as I was; and we both drew the same conclusions from it."

"I have great reason to believe that the king, the cabinet, and nation were never more unanimous in any system than in that of conciliation with us; even Lord Hawkesbury does not oppose it. If it should not succeed, they will naturally pass, like a pendulum, to the other extreme.

"This system rests principally on their confidence in the uprightness, independence, and wisdom of your conduct. No other man enjoys so completely the esteem and confidence of this nation as you do; nor, except the king, is any one so popular. The idea which every where prevails is, that the quarrel between Britain and America was a family quarrel, and that it is time it should be made up. For my part, I am for making it up, and for cherishing this disposition on their part by justice, benevolence, and good manners on ours. To cast ourselves into the arms of this or any other nation would be degrading, injurious, and puerile: nor, in my opinion, ought we to have any political connexion with any foreign power."

"The tranquillity of the present session of Congress is a pleasing circumstance; but I suspect it has proceeded more from their having nothing to differ about, than from a spirit of forbearance, or a desire of unanimity. The result of my negotiations will doubtless produce fresh disputes, and give occasion to much declamation; for *I have no idea that the treaty will meet with anti-federal approbation*. Besides, men are more apt to think of what they wish to have, than of what is in their power to obtain. How far the rejection of such a treaty would put the United States in the wrong; whether it is consistent with our honour, engagements, and important interests; whether it is preferable upon the whole to a war; are questions which require much cool and deliberate consideration, as well as more information than many who will decide upon them possess."

We have no fear of tiring our readers with extracts from this correspondence, and we shall therefore present to them the greater part of a letter from general Washington to Mr. Jay, of the first of November, 1794:

"That of the 5th of August dawns more favourably upon the success of your mission than any that had preceded it, and for the honour, dignity, and interest of this country; for your own reputation and glory; and for the peculiar satisfaction I should derive from it, as well on private as on public considerations, no man more ardently wishes you complete success than I do. But, as you have observed in some of your letters, that it is hardly possible in the early stages of a negotiation to foresee all the results, so much depending upon fortuitous circumstances, and incidents which are not within our control,—so to deserve success, by employing the means with which we are possessed to the best advantage, and trusting the event to the all-wise Disposer, is all that an enlightened public, and the virtuous and well-disposed part of the community can reasonably expect; nor in this, will they, I am sure, be disappointed. Against the malignancy of the discontented, the turbulent, and the vicious, no abilities, no exertions, nor the most unshaken integrity are any safeguard.

"As far as depends upon the executive, measures preparatory for the worst, while it hopes for the best, will be pursued; and I shall endeavour to keep things in statu quo, until your negotiation assumes a more decisive form, which I hope will soon be the case, as there are many hot heads and impetuous spirits among us, who with difficulty can be kept within bounds. This, however, ought not to precipitate your conduct; for, as it has been observed, 'there is a tide in human affairs,' which ought to be watched; and because I believe all who are acquainted with you will readily concede, that considerations both public and private combine to urge you to bring your mission to a close, with as much celerity as the nature of it will admit.

"As you have been, and will continue to be, fully informed by the secretary of state of all transactions of a public nature, which relate to or may have an influence on the points of your mission, it would be unnecessary for me to touch upon any of them in this letter, was it not for the presumption that the insurrection in the western counties of this state has excited much speculation, and a variety of opinions abroad; and will be represented differently according to the wishes of some, and the prejudices of others, who may exhibit it as an evidence of what has been predicted, 'that we are unable to govern ourselves.' Under this view of the subject, I am happy in giving it to you as the general opinion, that this event having happened at the time it did was fortunate, although it will be attended with considerable expense.

"That the *self-created societies* which have spread themselves over this country, have been labouring incessantly to sow the seeds of distrust, jealousy, and of course discontent, thereby hoping to effect some revolution in the government, is not unknown to you. *That they have been the fomenters of the western disturbances*, admits of no doubt in the mind of any one who will examine their conduct; but, fortunately, they precipitated a crisis for which they were not prepared; and thereby have unfolded views which will, I trust, effectuate their annihilation sooner than it might otherwise have happened; at the same time, that it has afforded an occasion for the people of this country to show their abhorrence of the result, and their attachment to the constitution and the laws: for I believe that five times the number of militia that was required would have come forward, if it had been necessary, in support of them.

"The spirit which blazed out on this occasion, as soon as the object was fully understood, and the lenient measures of the government were made known to the people, deserve to be communicated; for there are instances of general officers going at the head of a single troop and light companies; of field officers, when they came to the places of rendezvous and found no command for them in that grade, turning into the ranks and proceeding as private soldiers under their own captains; and of numbers, possessing the first fortunes in the country, standing in the ranks as private men, and marching day by day, with their knapsacks and haversacks at their backs; sleeping on straw with a blanket in a soldier's tent, during the frosty nights we have had, by way of example to others. Nay, more, of many young Quakers (not discouraged by the elders) of the first characters, families, and properties, having turned into the ranks, and marching with the troops.

"These things have terrified the insurgents, who had no conception that such a spirit prevailed; but while the thunder only rumbled at a distance, were boasting of their strength, and wishing for and threatening the militia by turns; intimating, that the arms they should take from them would soon become a magazine in their hands. Their language is much changed, indeed, but their principles want correction.

"I shall be more prolix in my speech to Congress, on the commencement and progress of this insurrection, than is usual in such an instrument, or than I should have been on any other occasion; but as numbers (at home and abroad) will hear of the insurrection, and will read the speech, that may know nothing of the documents to which it might refer, I conceived it would be better to encounter the charge of prolixity, by giving a cursory detail of facts (that would show the prominent features of the thing), than to let it go naked into the world, to be dressed up according to the fancy or inclination of the readers, or the policy of our enemies."

The impartiality with which Mr. Jay had exercised the office of governor, and the ability he had displayed in that office, secured



his re-election in the year 1798; his old friend chancellor Livingston being his opponent. He had the satisfaction, by his efforts, of procuring the passage of the law for the abolition of slavery in the state of New York—a measure he had long had near his heart. Mr. Adams, in the year 1800, tendered him the situation of chief justice of the United States, which he had before so worthily filled, but Mr. Jay respectfully declined it. He was becoming tired of public life, and of the strife of parties; that of which he had been a prominent member, was now, in the vicissitudes of human affairs, unpopular with the nation. Mr. Jay, too, whose mind was always of a very religious cast, was looking forward to the important change which must happen to all, though to him it was unusually protracted. He determined to retire from public life. This determination he carried into effect in the 56th year of his age. He shortly after lost his amiable wife.

The only step in his latter years undertaken by him, which brought him before the public, was in yielding to the request of his friends, that he would act as president of the American Bible Society. In this institution he felt the deepest interest, and contributed all that lay in his power to its success. He delivered several anniversary discourses before that institution which will be perused with interest by the serious reader. A severe attack of illness, which, however, did not disturb the tranquillity of his mind, fell upon him in the year 1827. Our author says:

“In 1827 he was seized with a severe and dangerous illness, and at a certain stage of his disorder, his physicians pronounced his recovery hopeless. The author, believing it proper that the patient should be apprized of his danger, assumed the painful duty of communicating it to him. The information was received without the slightest perceptible emotion. Always reserved in the expression of his religious feelings, he made no remarks on his situation; but throughout the day his spirits appeared to be unusually raised, and he conversed with cheerfulness and animation on ordinary topics. He was urged by one of the family to tell his children on what foundation he now rested his hopes, and from what source he drew his consolations. ‘They have the book,’ was his concise, but expressive reply.”

He lingered until the 17th May 1829, when he expired, in the 84th year of his age.

In private life, Mr. Jay was the model of a man, benevolent, amiable, prudent, unostentatious, yet liberal, impartial, independent and pious. His letters to his children, which abound with the warmest affection and the best advice, present him in the most amiable light. By all was he respected, and by those who knew him, he was beloved. Of the ancient writers, Cicero was his favourite. He had but little taste for modern literature. The Scriptures were his daily study. We affirmed Mr. Jay to have been benevolent; such was the fact, yet he was not of a confiding dis-

position. As we shall see in the extracts we intend to offer as indicative of his political sentiments, he distrusted mankind. In his views of things, he was practical, mixing up but little sentiment in his estimate of them. He had strong party feelings; a circumstance not to be wondered at in a man who had been exposed like Mr. Jay to the most bitter invective and obloquy. And yet, when the party to which he was attached in principle, and which numbered in its ranks his dearest friends, was overthrown in the struggle of 1800, he had the magnanimity to avow the following sentiments:

"It is an agreeable circumstance, that the prosperity of our country, since the institution of the present government, justifies the support and confidence we have given to those by whom it has hitherto been administered. But general prosperity does not invariably produce general content; nor will public opinion, perplexed by the different lights and shades in which men and measures are often placed and seen, always remain steady and uniform.

"These observations are confirmed by events of no inconsiderable importance, which have recently occurred. They place us in a new situation, and render it proper for us to consider what our conduct under it should be. I take the liberty, therefore, of suggesting whether the patriotic principles on which we profess to act, do not call upon us to give (as far as may depend upon us) fair and full effect to the known sense and intention of a majority of the people, in every constitutional exercise of their will; and to support every administration of the government of our country which may prove to be intelligent and upright, of whatever party the persons composing it may be."

Before treating the topic with which we shall conclude our review of this book, we will ask the attention of our readers to some interesting particulars which the correspondence introduced into the second volume furnishes. It has been a question, which has naturally excited a lively interest in all admirers of the first president (and we presume the term includes all Americans)—who was the author of the famous Farewell Address? It is known, that some doubt has been thrown upon the generally received opinion, that it proceeded from the pen of Washington himself; and bold claims have been advanced by the particular admirers and relatives of Alexander Hamilton to the authorship of that celebrated state paper, by that gentleman. The doubt was, in itself, matter of much surprise, as the issuing of official communications from the executive, in his name, which yet proceeded from the head and pen of another, was formerly never dreamt of, though custom, of late years, has deprived it of its strange features. We admire the character of Mr. Hamilton sufficiently to be content to let it stand upon its own merits—it needs not the aid even of the composition of the paper in question. Though the brow of Washington be profusely covered with laurel, we would be unwilling to deprive it of a single wreath, even to place that wreath on the head of the distinguished first secretary of the treasury. That Washington was capable of

writing such a paper, hardly needed the elaborate reasoning of Mr. Jay. His letter however furnishes *facts*, apparently so conclusive and incontrovertible, that we shall extract that part of it in which the important details are given. They are contained in a letter to judge Peters, dated March 29, 1811.

"Some time before the address appeared, colonel (afterwards general) Hamilton informed me, that he had received a letter from president Washington, and with it the draught of a farewell address, which the president had prepared, and on which he requested our opinion. He then proposed that we should fix on a day for an interview at my house on the subject. A day was accordingly appointed. On that day colonel Hamilton attended. He observed to me, in words to this effect—that, after having read and examined the draught, it appeared to him to be susceptible of improvement—that he thought the easiest and best way was to leave the draught untouched and in its fair state; and to write the whole over, with such amendments, alterations, and corrections as he thought were advisable; and that he had done so. He then proposed to read it, and to make it the subject of our consideration. This being agreed to, he read it; and we proceeded deliberately to discuss and consider it, paragraph by paragraph, until the whole met with our mutual approbation: some amendments were made during the interview, but none of much importance. Although this business had not been hastily despatched, yet, aware of the consequence of such a paper, I suggested the giving it a further critical examination; but he declined it, saying that he was pressed for time, and was anxious to return the draught to the president without delay. It afterward occurred to me, that a certain proposition was expressed in terms too general and unqualified, and I hinted it in a letter to the president.

"As the business took the course above mentioned, a recurrence to the draught was unnecessary, and it was not read. There was this advantage in the course pursued—the president's draught remained (as delicacy required) fair, and not obscured by interlineations, &c. By comparing it with the paper sent with it, he would immediately observe the particular emendations and corrections that were proposed; and would find them standing in their intended places. Hence he was able to review and to decide on the whole matter, with much greater clearness and facility than if he had received them in separate and detached notes, and with detailed references to the pages and lines, where they were advised to be introduced.

"With great esteem and regard,

"I am, dear sir,

"Your obedient servant,

"JOHN JAY."

The only desideratum in this chain of testimony, though it does not materially weaken its force, is, that Jay did not recur, during the examination, to the *original draught* of Washington. This would have placed the matter beyond the possibility of a cavil. It seemed unnecessary, however, as colonel Hamilton said he had received it from the president.\*

\* We are the less disposed to enter into any detailed examination of this point, as it has, some years ago, undergone the attentive examination of a committee of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. In the year 1826, that committee was appointed, and addressed letters upon the subject to chief justice Marshall, judge Peters, judge Washington, and Mr. Jay. Their answers will be found in Part 2d, of Vol. I. of their memoirs, p. 231, &c. The



It appears, that as early as 1792, a monument in honour of the revolution, and in which, of course, Washington was to hold a conspicuous place, was talked of. Mr. Jay decidedly approved of it, and wished it to be made a national affair. The matter, however, fell through then, as it has, unfortunately, whenever it has been attempted since. We shall copy the letter which Jay wrote upon the subject, partly to show his opinion of it, and also for the purpose of drawing attention to the beautiful paragraph with which the letter closes.

“TO EDWARD BENSON, Member of Congress.

“*New York, 31st March, 1792.*

“MY GOOD FRIEND,

“I have had the pleasure of seeing Senor Ceracchi, and his model of a monument in honour of the revolution. The design appears to me to be a noble one, worthy the attention of the United States, and honourable to the taste and talents of the artist. It cannot fail of being interesting to all who contributed to the revolution, and to that glorious triumph of liberty which it exhibited, and which well deserves a magnificent monument. The ancient republics, to whose very imperfections we are sometimes partial, afford precedents. Why should not the Congress adopt and carry this design into execution? The expense? for my part I think the expense proper, and therefore confide in the sense and sentiment of the public. If the money was *now* to be provided, the measure would be *unseasonable*, on account of the Indian war. That obstacle will be of short duration. We need not begin the monument this year. To adopt the plan will cost nothing. The work must necessarily be long on hand, and as the expense will be gradually incurred, so also it will be gradually defrayed. The sum annually requisite can be but small compared with the object, and with our resources. Although it would better become the nation, than individuals, to undertake it, yet provided the nation assume the task, the aid of subscriptions, and even state donations, might, if necessary, be resorted to. If you would say, it shall be begun as soon as a certain sum is subscribed, there is reason to believe it would be subscribed. If the ways and means be referred to colonel Hamilton, he will indicate the most eligible. His official station, information, and talents, would render it proper.

“The gentleman who formed the design, will be the most proper person to execute it. Another artist would not feel the same degree of interest in it, nor is it certain that another of equal talents could easily be had.

“As to his reward,—it is a matter which I think should not *at present* be contemplated. Let the work be finished, and *then* make him such an acknowledgment as would become the nation on the one hand, and him on the other. I can conceive of no other rule on such occasions, and in relation to such objects.

“I confess to you that the effect which this measure would naturally have on the president’s feelings, is with me an additional inducement. We shall not be reproached for letting him die by an executioner, or in chains, or in exile, or in neglect and disgrace, as many Greek and Roman patriots died. On the contrary, we shall be commended throughout all generations for the

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answers of those gentlemen, and the accompanying statements, are as satisfactory, though not as minute, as the letter of Mr. Jay, which we have given above. The interest felt by the Society in the investigation was highly creditable to that body; and we think the result has been such, as to relieve the mind of every American from any further anxiety upon the point.

part we have hitherto acted respecting him. It is only while he lives that we can have the satisfaction of offering the fruits of gratitude and affection to his enjoyment. Posterity can have only the pensive pleasure of strewing flowers on his grave.

"Yours affectionately,

"JOHN JAY."

Mr. Jay was, as we before remarked, and as is well known, a member of the federal party, whose name, rather than principles, has become odious. We believe, that all the leading measures of that party have been adopted by successive administrations, who would have been any thing but complimented by the designation of federal. And recently we have seen a proclamation emanating from a president, styled, *par excellence*, democratic, embodying the favourite views of the ultras as among the old federalists, and hailed with delight and exultation by men of all parties, but those whose brains were bewildered by the phantoms of state rights and sovereignty. So far was Mr. Jay from being impressed with a sense of the advantages of pure democracy, that, on the contrary, he looked upon it as a serious national evil; comparing it in its intoxicating effects, to *pure rum*; and believing that it needed the proper admixture of the influence of property and education to render it desirable for a nation. The paragraph, in which he uses this strong comparison, is so racy throughout, that we cannot pass it by without presenting it to our readers. It is contained in a letter to judge Peters, under date of July 24, 1809.

"Perilous times have descended upon all Europe, and Bonaparte seems to be the Nebuchadnezzar of the day. Divines say, that in the prophetic language, nations are called seas. According to that language, Europe is a tempestuous and a raging ocean; and who can tell which of the governments afloat upon it will escape destruction or disaster? Some dark clouds from that tempest have reached, and lately obscured, our political sky; nor has it again become quite serene and clear. This country, as well as others, will experience deep distress; but I do not believe that you or I will live to see it. From transitory and ordinary evils we cannot expect to be exempt. We may suffer from rash experiments, from the pressure of fraternal embraces or resentments, from the machinations of demagogues, and gradually from the corruption incident to the love of money, &c., but, for my own part, I do not apprehend any thing like the speedy approach of an 'overturn.' You have had a democratic tornado at Philadelphia. It did but little harm; perhaps it did some good. I found it gave you something to do; and I found also, as I expected, that you did it. Too many in your state, as in this, love pure democracy dearly. They seem not to consider that *pure* democracy, like *pure rum*, easily produces intoxication, and with it a thousand mad pranks and fooleries. Ebriety, whether moral or physical, is difficult to cure; and the more so, as such patients cannot easily be convinced of the value and the necessity of temperance and regimen."

His great maxim in government was the security and stability of the institutions of the country, which he identified with the security and stability of private rights. He was persuaded that one could not exist without the other; and the consequence of in-

security in government would be, that the higher and wealthier classes would be led to look upon the blessings of liberty as merely imaginary and delusive; and be prepared for any change that would bring them tranquillity and order. He expressed these sentiments in a letter to general Washington, of which we shall offer, now, the passage containing them.

“What I most fear is, that the better kind of people, by which I mean the people who are orderly and industrious, who are content with their situations, and not uneasy in their circumstances, will be led by the insecurity of property, the loss of confidence in their rulers, and the want of public faith and rectitude, to consider the charms of liberty as imaginary and delusive. A state of fluctuation and uncertainty must disgust and alarm such men, and prepare their minds for almost any change that may promise them quiet and security.”

He therefore, for the purpose of counteracting this tendency to change, which he thought inherent in a popular constitution, was in favour of giving to freeholders the chief control in the government of the country. It became a maxim with him, that those who own a country ought to govern it. Such felt, in his opinion, a substantial interest in the welfare of the nation, their own private advantage drawing them to the side of order and security; while those who have no stake in the country, can not be presumed, from the mere abstract love of propriety, to entertain the like inclination. They would moreover be liable to be played upon by the artful and ambitious, and in their turn to become such, from the supposition that their situations might be much improved, and could not be impaired by a change. These sentiments were strengthened in Mr. Jay, inasmuch as he wanted confidence in the majority of the people. Had he entertained such confidence, his views upon these points would necessarily have been different; as all being in the hands of the people, if the majority be fitting and safe depositories of human rights, there can be no cause for alarm or distrust. On the contrary, he thought that the people were to be protected against themselves—against their own passions, prejudices, and ignorance.

These principles, and others which we shall quote, are spread over the voluminous correspondence of Mr. Jay. As we wish him, on several points, to speak for himself, we have culled the passages the most suitable for their exposition.

He wrote thus in 1807:

“Every modification of sovereignty has its inconveniences—there is a better and a worse in them all, and no other than a relative perfection in any of them. That ours might be rendered less imperfect is more easy to prove than to accomplish. It is true, that when the measure of confusion runs over, order usually follows; but it is not always such order as would please either you or me.

“The vices and violence of parties, and the corruptions which they generate



and cherish, are serious evils; but they are evils which, during the full tide of democracy, mere reason will find it difficulty to correct, because the majority of every people are deficient both in virtue and in knowledge. *All* parties have their demagogues, and demagogues never were nor will be patriots. Self-interest excites and directs all their talents and industry, and by that principle they regulate their conduct towards men and measures: nor is this all; they not only act improperly themselves, but they diligently strive to mislead the weak, the ignorant, and the unwary; as to the *corrupt*, they like to have it so; it makes a good market for them.

"Reforms in government are more frequently imposed by overbearing circumstances, than produced by the influence of wisdom on the opinion and choice of the multitude. The administration of every government will always be able, virtuous and salutary, or otherwise, according to the characters of those to whom it may be committed. The rulers in democratic republics are generally men of more talents than morals; there can be but little connexion between cunning and virtue, and therefore (except now and then in particular instances) our affairs will commonly be managed by political intrigues, calculated upon that 'auri fames' which from obvious causes, rages in this country.

"New men, new objects, and new designs, will successively arise and have their day; but whether for good or for evil, we know not. At present, democracy prevails too much; the time may come when it will prevail too little. The human passions naturally vibrate between extremes, passing and repassing, but seldom stopping at the middle point.

In the year 1786, he thought the same:

"The mass of men are neither wise nor good, and the virtue, like the other resources of a country, can only be drawn to a point and exerted by strong circumstances ably managed, or a strong government ably administered. New governments have not the aid of habit and hereditary respect, and being generally the result of preceding tumult and confusion, do not immediately acquire stability or strength. Besides, in times of commotion, some men will gain confidence and importance, who merit neither; and who, like political mountebanks, are less solicitous about the health of the credulous crowd than about making the most of their nostrums and prescriptions."

Still later in life (1815), events had the more confirmed him in these sentiments:

"These, and the like facts and considerations, will doubtless have the most weight with that portion of the community who have been misled, but who really mean well. They will probably have some effect also on the more considerate of the others. As to the position, that 'the people always mean well,' or, in other words, that they always mean to say and to do what they believe to be right and just,—it may be popular, but it cannot be true. The word *people*, you know, applies to all the individual inhabitants of a country, collectively considered. That portion of them who individually mean well, never was, nor until the millennium will be, considerable. We have not heard of any country in which the great mass of the inhabitants individually and habitually adhere to the dictates of their conscience. We know how well demagogues and pharisaical patriots mean. Having much of the wisdom of this world, and little of that of the other, they will, like their great predecessor Absalom, always mean and act accordingly.

"Besides, Providence sometimes chastises nations with physical epidemics, and sometimes (by 'choosing their delusions') with moral epidemics,

and after a while removes them. This encourages hope; for if we have arrived at or near the *pessimum* of this evil, the *melius* cannot be far distant."

Jay always held demagogues in utter abhorrence. He loathed, while he deplored, their influence in the country. He looked upon them as essentially bad men, without virtue, without honesty. Of the class, too, of *patriots*, who, born abroad, verified their professions of attachment to their adopted country, by being always foremost in riot and confusion, he could never speak without indignation. His sentiments on these points are worthy of repetition.

"There is too much intelligence in the northern states to admit of their being greatly and long deceived and misled; and I hope the same remark will in time become equally applicable to all the others. Considering the nature of our governments, a succession of demagogues must be expected: and the strenuous efforts of the wise and virtuous will not cease to be necessary to frustrate their artifices and designs. They will always be hostile to merit, because merit will always stand in their way; and being actuated by envy, ambition, or avarice, and not unfrequently by them all, will be diligently at work, while better men will take their rest.

"It seems so strange, but so it is in all republics, that many excellent men who are happy in their families and fortunes, and in the esteem of society and of their friends; who enjoy their villas and their gardens, and neglect not to guard their trees and vines from caterpillars, and their favourite plants and flowers from nipping frosts; yet omit attending to the political grubs, who are constantly and insidiously labouring to wound and prey upon the roots of all their temporal enjoyments. Several gentlemen of this description with us becoming alarmed, have been very useful; and I presume this has been, more or less, the case in other states.

"In every event, some malcontents are to be expected; and it is remarkable that *patriots* born in British dominions, are very distinguishable among those who the most invariably oppose our government and its measures. They appear to be as little disposed to promote good will between our two countries, as the French; indeed, they seem to like our government as little as they did their own."

Of a form of government in the abstract, suitable to every people, and practically, because theoretically, the best, he thought the conception absurd.

"I should not think that man wise, who should employ his time in endeavouring to contrive a shoe that would fit every foot; and they do not appear to me much more wise, who expect to devise a government that would suit every nation. I have no objections to men's mending or changing their own shoes, but I object to their insisting on my mending or changing mine. I am content that little men shall be as free as big ones, and have and enjoy the same rights; but nothing strikes me as more absurd than projects to stretch little men into big ones, or shrink big men into little ones. Liberty and reformation may run mad, and madness of any kind is no blessing. I nevertheless think, that there may be a time for reformation, and a time for change, as well as for other things; all that I contend for is, that they be done soberly, by sober and discreet men, and in due manner, measure, and proportion. It may be said, that this cannot always be the case. It is true, and we can only regret it. We must take men and things as they are, and act accordingly; that is, circumspectly."

Contented with the constitution as established, he wished no innovation:

"I presume that our political sentiments do not differ essentially. To me it appears important that the American government be preserved as it is, until mature experience shall very plainly point out very useful amendments to our constitution; that we steadily repel all foreign influence and interference, and with good faith and liberality treat all nations as friends in peace, and as enemies in war; neither meddling with their affairs, nor permitting them to meddle with ours. These are the primary objects of my policy. The secondary ones are more numerous, such as, to be always prepared for war, to cultivate peace, to promote religion, industry, tranquillity, and useful knowledge, and to secure to all the quiet enjoyment of their rights, by wise and equal laws irresistibly executed. I do not expect that mankind will, before the millennium, be what they ought to be; and therefore, in my opinion, every political theory which does not regard them as being what *they are*, will probably prove delusive."

Mr. Jay was most warmly attached to his own country. He was, heart and soul, an American. Distance, when his duties called him abroad, served but to strengthen his attachment to his native land. We have some beautiful expressions of this patriotic feeling in his letters to Robert Morris. The first we shall quote was dated at Madrid, in 1782. In it he says:

"We remove next week to Aranjuez, where I expect again to spend some agreeable weeks. It is a charming place, containing a tract of several miles in circumference, and divided into gardens, meadows, parks, cultivated grounds, and wilds, full of fine trees, fine roads, and fine walks, and watered by a slow winding river, which, if more clear, would be very beautiful. But still, my friend, it is not America. A genius of a different character from that which presides at your hills and gardens reigns over these. Soldiers, with fixed bayonets, present themselves at various stations in these peaceful retreats; and though none but inoffensive citizens are near, yet horsemen with drawn swords, guarding one or other of the royal family in their little excursions to take the air daily, renew and impress ideas of subjection. Power unlimited, and distrust misplaced, thus exacting homage and imposing awe, occasion uneasy reflections, and alloy the pleasing sensations which nature, smiling in such delightful scenes, never fails to excite. Were I a Spaniard, these decorated seats would appear to me like the temporary enchantments of some despotic magician, who, by re-extending his wand, could at pleasure command them to vanish, and be succeeded by galleys and prisons."

In another, dated at Paris, in the same year, he gives his idea of the mode of educating young Americans so as not to weaken their regard for the institutions of their country:

"I think the youth of every *free* civilized country should, if possible, be educated in it, and not permitted to travel out of it till age has made them so cool and firm as to retain their national and moral impressions. Connexions formed at school and college have much influence, and are to be watched even at that period. If judiciously formed, they will often endure and be advantageous through life. American youth may possibly form proper, and perhaps useful, friendships in European seminaries, but I think not so *probably* as among their fellow-citizens, with whom they are to grow up, whom it will be useful for them to know and be early known to, and with



whom they are to be engaged in the business of active life, and under the eye and direction of parents whose advice, authority, and example, are frequently of more worth than the lessons of hireling professors, particularly on the subjects of religion, morality, virtue and prudence."

Again, he writes from Passy, September 24th, 1783, to Gouverneur Morris, in answer to a letter from that gentleman :

"Marks of remembrance from old acquaintances, and the society of fellow-citizens in a foreign country, excite agreeable sensations. I have, as yet, met with neither men nor things on this side of the water which abate my predilection, or, if you please, my prejudices in favour of those on the other. I have but few attachments in Europe much stronger than those we sometimes feel for an accidental fellow-traveller, or for a good inn and a civil landlord. We leave our approbation, and good wishes, and a certain degree of regard with them, by way of paying that part of the reckoning and travelling expenses which money cannot always defray. My affections are deeply rooted in America, and are of too long standing to admit of transplantation. In short, my friend, I can never become so far a citizen of the world as to view every part of it with equal regard ; and perhaps nature is wiser in tying our hearts to our native soil, than they are who think they divest themselves of foibles in proportion as they wear away those bonds. It is not difficult to regard men of every nation as members of the same family ; but when placed in that point of view, my fellow-citizens appear to me as my brethren, and the others as related to me only in the more distant and adventitious degrees."

No one was more deeply persuaded than Mr. Jay of the evils of the confederation, and of the urgent necessity for the adoption of an efficient and independent national government. His views coincided fully with those of Washington on this important point, and they were in the constant interchange of confidential sentiments upon it. They felt persuaded that their country had in vain conquered liberty from England, if they were afterwards to lose it by their own ignorance or wilfulness. The more that is disclosed of the correspondence of Washington, the more highly, if possible, are our ideas raised of his wisdom and patriotism. His letters form the most interesting part of those presented to us by the biographer, and we gladly avail ourselves of the opportunity of bringing them again before the public. Upon this subject of the confederation, he thus expressed his sentiments to Mr. Jay. His letter is dated at Mount Vernon, August 15, 1786.

"Your sentiments, that our affairs are drawing rapidly to a crisis, accord with my own. What the event will be, is beyond the reach of my foresight. We have errors to correct. *We have, probably, had too good an opinion of human nature in forming our confederation.* Experience has taught us, that men will not adopt, and carry into execution, measures the best calculated for their own good, without the intervention of a coercive power. I do not conceive we can exist long as a nation, without having lodged somewhere a power which will pervade the whole Union, in as energetic a manner as the authority of the different state governments extends over the several states.

"To be fearful of vesting Congress, constituted as that body is, with ample authorities for national purposes, appears to me the very climax of popular absurdity and madness. Could Congress exert them for the detriment of

the public without injuring themselves in an equal or greater proportion? Are not their interests inseparably connected with those of their constituents? By the rotation of appointment, must they not mingle frequently with the mass of citizens? Is it not rather to be apprehended, if they were possessed of the powers before described, that the individual members would be induced to use them, on many occasions, very timidly and inefficaciously for fear of losing their popularity and future election? We must take human nature as we find it. Perfection falls not to the share of mortals. Many are of opinion, that Congress have too frequently made use of the suppliant, humble tone of requisition in applications to the states, when they had a right to assume their imperial dignity, and command obedience. \* Be that as it may, requisitions are a perfect nullity, where thirteen sovereign, independent, disunited states are in the habit of discussing and refusing compliance with them at their option. Requisitions are actually little better than a jest and a by-word throughout the land. If you tell the legislature they have violated the treaty of peace, and invaded the prerogatives of the confederacy, they will laugh in your face. What then is to be done? Things cannot go on in the same train for ever.

"It is much to be feared, as you observe, that the better kind of people, being disgusted with the circumstances, will have their minds prepared for any revolution whatever. We are apt to run from one extreme into another. To anticipate and prevent disastrous contingencies would be the part of wisdom and patriotism.

"What astonishing changes a few years are capable of producing! I am told that even respectable characters speak of a monarchical form of government without horror. From thinking proceeds speaking; thence to action is often but a single step. But how irrevocable and tremendous! What a triumph for the advocates of despotism to find that we are incapable of governing ourselves, and that systems founded on the basis of equal liberty are merely ideal and fallacious! Would to God that wise measures may be taken in time to avert the consequences we have but too much reason to apprehend.

"Retired as I am from the world, I frankly acknowledge I cannot feel myself an unconcerned spectator. Yet, having happily assisted in bringing the ship into port, and having been fairly discharged, it is not my business to embark again on a sea of troubles. Nor could it be expected that my sentiments and opinions would have much weight on the minds of my countrymen. They have been neglected, though given as a last legacy in the most solemn manner. I had then perhaps some claims to public attention. I consider myself as having none at present."

Again, in 1787, he wrote to Mr. Jay, in language wonderfully applicable to the fearful crisis the country has just passed through from the dangers of nullification. The father of his country was apparently, with a prophetic eye, viewing the mad ambition of those who, with their wild notions of state sovereignty, were about blasting all the blessings which as one people we enjoy. He said:

"How far the revision of the federal system, and giving more adequate powers to Congress, may be productive of an efficient government, I will not, under my present view of the matter, pretend to decide. That many inconveniences result from the present form, none can deny: those enumerated in your letter are so obvious and sensibly felt, that no logic can controvert, nor is it probable that any change of conduct will remove them; and that all attempts to alter or amend it will be like the propping of a house which is

ready to fall, and which no shores can support (as many seem to think), may also be true.

"But is the public mind matured for such an important change as the one you have suggested? What would be the consequence of a premature attempt?

"My opinion is, that this country has yet to *feel* and *see* a little more before it can be accomplished. A thirst for power, and the bantling—I had liked to have said MONSTER—sovereignty, which have taken such fast hold of the states individually, will, when joined by the many whose personal consequences in the line of state politics will in a manner be annihilated, form a strong phalanx against it; and when to these, the few who can hold posts of honour or profit in the national government are compared with the many who will see but little prospect of being noticed, and the discontents of others who may look for appointments, the opposition would be altogether irresistible, till the mass, as well as the more discerning part of the community, shall see the necessity.

"Among men of reflection, few will be found, I believe, who are not *beginning* to think that our system is better in theory than practice; and that, notwithstanding the boasted virtue of America, it is more than probable we shall exhibit the last melancholy proof that mankind are not competent to their own government, without the means of coercion in the sovereign. Yet I would try what the wisdom of the proposed convention will suggest, and what can be effected by their counsels. It may be the last peaceable mode of essaying the practicability of the present form, without a greater lapse of time than the exigency of our affairs will admit. In strict propriety, a convention so holden may not be legal; Congress, however, may give it a colouring by recommendation which would fit it more to the taste, without proceeding to a definition of powers; this, however constitutionally it might be done, would not in my opinion be expedient; for delicacy on the one hand, and jealousy on the other, would produce a mere nihil.

"My name is in the delegation to this convention; but it was put there contrary to my desire, and remains contrary to my request. Several reasons at the time of this appointment, and which yet exist, combined to make my attendance inconvenient, perhaps improper, though a good deal urged to it."

Jay early desired to behold his country a powerful and intimately united republic; or, as he well expresses it:

"It is my first wish to see the United States assume and merit the character of ONE GREAT NATION, whose territory is divided into different states merely for more convenient government, and the more easy and prompt administration of justice; just as our several states are divided into counties and townships for the like purposes."

It was a deep conviction in the minds of our people, of the ruinous vices of the confederation, that paved the way for the adoption of the constitution; and it is this truth which furnishes the most powerful argument for its continuance.

But, however sensible Jay was of the evils under which the country groaned, he was jealous of the interference of the state legislatures in the amendment or abrogation of the old form of government, or the adoption of a new one, and wished, if any alteration were made, it should proceed "from the only source of just authority—the people."\* This constitution he had finally the hap-

\* We use his own words.



piness of seeing established; though for a long time the prejudices of a section of the country rendered the progress of correct principles extremely slow. Mr. Jay pithily remarked to Mr. Adams upon this backwardness of the southern states:

"The public papers will enable you to see the complexion of the times. Federal opinions grow, but it will be some time before they will bear fruit; and, what is not the case with most other fruits, they will, to judge from present appearances, ripen slower in the *south* than in the *north*."

Chief Justice Jay, having laboured earnestly and long to establish our happy constitution, and having watched it from infancy to vigorous manhood, died before the advent of the storm which so lately threatened to uproot the noble plant, and scatter abroad its blossoms. No visions of disunion distracted his dying moments; and the surviving member of the first Congress sank to rest undisturbed by the terrors (fancied or real) of nullification. We may with propriety indulge the hope, that no gathering clouds in our political hemisphere may render gloomy and changeful the evening of the days of the illustrious man upon whose shoulders the mantle of Jay has so worthily fallen.

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### ART. III.—DENMARK, SWEDEN AND NORWAY.

- 1.—*A Personal Narrative of a Journey through Norway, part of Sweden, and the islands and states of Denmark.* By DERWENT CONWAY. Edinburgh, 18mo. 1829.
- 2.—*Letters from the North of Europe; or a Journal of Travels in Holland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Finland, Russia, Prussia, and Saxony.* By CHARLES BOILEAU ELLIOTT, Esq. of the Bengal civil service. London, 8vo. 1832.
- 3.—*Narrative of a Visit to the Courts of Russia and Sweden, in the years 1830 and 1831.* By CAPTAIN C. COLVILLE FRANKLAND, R. N. London, 2 vols. 8vo. 1832.

Few things tend more effectually to the removal of national prejudices, than correct accounts of foreign countries, by means of which, as by a telescope, the obscurity of distance is dispersed. Nations acquainted with the actual condition of other nations are more likely to think favourably of each other, and, consequently, with more modesty of themselves, than those do, who, wrapped in self-sufficiency, believe that happiness is to be found nowhere but within their own limits, and that they surpass the rest of mankind in every imaginable excellence. This Chinese mode of judging, will, we trust, never become a characteristic of this country; yet any one who observes closely the current opinions, will

find that a more general diffusion of the sort of knowledge adverted to, would be highly beneficial. Some merit, then, may be fairly claimed by the contributors to this Journal for the pains they have taken to spread before their countrymen the most recent and authentic accounts of other climes and regions, especially since the articles containing them, as we learn from various sources, have obtained a large share of public attention. Let any one examine the contents of our previous numbers, and he will find that we have taken an extensive survey of both hemispheres. In our own, we have expatiated on the arctic regions, Canada, Mexico, Guatemala, Colombia, Buenos Ayres, Cuba, New Zealand, and Polynesia, in the eastern, on Great Britain, Ireland, France, Switzerland, Italy, Russia, Greece, Spain, Germany, Turkey, Hindostan, China, Birmah, Siberia, and Central Africa. If, therefore, ignorance respecting foreign countries is too generally prevalent, as we fear it must be admitted to be,—we have the satisfaction of reflecting that the blame does not belong to us.

We are now about to introduce our readers to an acquaintance with Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, three countries less known to the American public, as we suppose, than any other three in Europe ; but as a preliminary step, we shall offer some remarks on our authorities. The volume which we have placed first, is the production of Mr. Inglis, who, for reasons unknown to us, has thought fit to adopt the fictitious name of Derwent Conway ; a measure which we cannot approve. If an author wishes to remain in petto, he should either publish anonymously, or adopt a name not calculated to deceive. This we hold to be sound law. Accordingly we have no fault to find with Mr. Irving for having styled himself Geoffry Crayon, and Launcelot Longstaff, nor with Dr. Walcot for adopting and retaining the name of Peter Pindar. With Mr. Proctor, who has published several volumes under the name of Barry Cornwall, and with Mr. Inglis, the case is different, as their assumed names would be generally supposed to be their real ones. Probably when Swift published his famous "Predictions," he thought that Isaac Bickerstaff would be understood as a masked appellation ; a conjecture strengthened by the fact of Steele's having adopted it in the Tatler ; yet at a subsequent period, a person appeared as a dramatic author who was the real Simon Pure. Now, though it is somewhat unlikely that the same predicament should arise respecting Derwent Conway and Barry Cornwall, yet as those names have in them nothing peculiarly calculated to awaken suspicion, we consider that an assumption of them is too serious for a joke, and too deceptive for honesty. In other respects, Mr. Inglis's volume is highly creditable to him, it being one of the most entertaining books of travels we have ever seen, while it is free from those sarcastic and illiberal delineations which have given such notoriety to Mrs. Trollope. He

does indeed point out faults; but then he is evidently actuated by a good spirit, and takes more pleasure in dwelling on excellences. His descriptions are graphical; so that the reader has a distinct image presented to him, and not that indefinite generality which is the result of unskilfulness. There are some portraits so indicative of character, that every one who surveys them feels satisfied that they must resemble the originals: so it is with Mr. Inglis's sketches of mountain scenery. The reader is persuaded that they are neither Swiss nor Peruvian but Norwegian, while, unlike those of the same country, drawn, about fifty years ago, by Mary Woolstonecraft, they are as varied as they appear to be faithful.

Mr. Elliot's book is the production of an erudite man, he being not only versed in classic lore, but also acquainted with several oriental languages; yet it is less interesting, because the narrative part is less lively, and the descriptive less vivid. Though appearing in the form of letters, it is deficient in that unstudied ease which is the proper characteristic of epistolary style; in this respect it falls below Mr. Inglis's; but then it is equally candid, and contains some particulars not to be found in his. The spirit of adventure is conspicuous in both alike; though, owing to particular circumstances, Mr. Elliot obtained a view of that wonderful cataract which has been several times represented as superior to the Falls of Niagara; the existence of which was deemed so apocryphal by Mr. Inglis, that he abandoned its pursuit.

The third work on the list, namely, that of captain Frankland, relates principally to Russia, and is therefore not particularly adapted to our purpose, it being no part of our plan to include that country in the present article; yet its title is given, not simply as indicative of its having claimed our attention, but also because it may be convenient to refer to it for the elucidation of certain points.

We now proceed to our task, premising, that the plan we intend to adopt is that of taking the three countries, Denmark, Sweden and Norway, in the order here mentioned, without any other special limitations. By this means we hope to be able to lay before our readers, without the formality of regular analysis, the most interesting and valuable matters contained in the three volumes. As books of travels are not like mathematical treatises, unintelligible to the student, unless taken consecutively, this plan may be safely adopted, while it will have the recommendation of freedom from restraint.

Many republicans find it difficult to conceive that a country under absolute monarchy can be well governed, yet as republics may be tyrannical, so may despotisms be beneficial; certain it is, that Denmark, though ruled by a monarch almost absolute, is, at this time, one of the best governed countries in the world. Indeed, were all monarchs virtuous and able men, absolute power might be conceded to them, not only without fear of its being abused,



but with evident advantage to the community, no other system being so well adapted to ensure despatch and energy ; but while the passions of men are stronger than their reason, the nation which vests absolute power in one man, is like a city built on a volcano, liable to be ruined by a sudden explosion.

“Though absolute, yet Frederic VI. exercises power with lenity, and is much beloved : he encourages his people to consider him as their friend and father. What he possesses is open to his lowest subject ; and he reigns as supremely in the hearts of his people, and as absolutely over their persons and estates. You may have heard an anecdote mentioned by the writer of a book of travels, in illustration of the paternal character of the government of Denmark. An Englishman who had brought some wild beasts to the capital, was in the habit of putting his head into the mouth of the lion. The police interfered to prevent an act fraught with danger to life ; but the proprietor, who made money by the exhibition of a man’s head in a lion’s mouth, complained to the British minister. The only answer he could obtain was, that, in Denmark, human life must not be exposed to such a risk. The king’s regard for the security of his subjects’ personal property, is manifested by another law, which prevents a foreigner from obtaining the necessary signature to his passport, till he produce a document from the landlord of his inn, certifying that he is not in debt.”

To the above account, we may properly subjoin the following by Mr. Inglis.

“The style in which the king of Denmark lives, is singularly plain. His table is not superior to that of an English country gentleman of £5000 a year ; and indeed, with his limited revenue, and the great respectability maintained in all the public establishments, as well as the liberality of his donations to the different charities and institutions, almost every one of which enjoys his patronage, it was impossible that he should support a very extensive household expenditure. No king in Europe is more easy of access, or of whom, considering his means, more traits of kindness are recorded. One instance, which happens to come within my own knowledge, I shall relate. A gentleman of noble extraction had held, during many years, different commissions in the army, and had risen to the rank of one of his majesty’s aides-de-camp. Shortly after, he became a convert to some religious tenets, which seeming to him inconsistent with the profession of a soldier, he sent his resignation to the proper quarter. The king, unwilling to part with the services of one who had held his commission from boyhood upwards, sent to command the attendance of his *gi devant aide de camp*, who, of course, immediately obeyed the summons. The king took the officer into a private apartment, and demanded the cause of his resignation. When it was explained, his majesty condescended to argue the subject with his scrupulous servant, who still remained unconvinced by the king’s reasoning. At length the *aide-de-camp* was desired to withdraw with an injunction to return next morning. When he appeared, the king received him coldly, and only said,—‘Go to your quarters and remain there, the proper officer will bring my commands to you.’ The *aide de camp* retired, and was soon after waited on by an official, who put a paper into his hands, which, he doubted not, was an order for his arrest or disgrace ; but judge of his surprise, when, upon opening it, he found it to be the king’s patent, presenting him to a civil appointment about court, the emoluments of which were nearly equal to those of the office he had relinquished.

“The king, although an absolute monarch, is more popular than some who have presented their subjects with a constitution ; and I could not learn

that his Danish majesty had any intention of following the popular example. From all I could learn, the king of Denmark enjoys, along with the affection and respect of his subjects, those domestic pleasures which generally belong only to private station."

An opinion is prevalent in this country, that absolute power can co-exist only with ignorance in the mass of the people. Denmark appears to be an exception; the press being, it is said, as unrestricted as in England, while the number of books published at the capital is said to be proportionally greater than that of those issued in London or Paris.

Copenhagen is described both by Mr. Elliott and Mr. Inglis as an interesting and beautiful city. Viewed from the water, it must, as it is described by them, have some resemblance to New York, the beauty of which will be disputed by none who have seen it from the bay in which it is embosomed. The most gratifying intelligence connected with Copenhagen is, however, that the condition of its inhabitants appears to be good; that squalid poverty so conspicuous in some other European cities, being scarcely visible. As it possesses many objects of attraction to a stranger, it amply repays the visitor; and we should like to find that it was more frequently included in the tours of such of our countrymen as cross the Atlantic for the purpose of increasing their stock of useful knowledge. To such persons the following extract from Mr. Elliott will not be without interest:

"To the museum and library, open only on Thursdays, I gained admittance to-day by a curious accident. This morning a young man called, and introduced himself as a nephew of Dr. W. Having been to see his family, he conducted me to the museum, where a professor, named Erasmus Rask, well known among European philologists, was reading. The young Dane observed that he was a great linguist, and had travelled in Persia; accordingly I addressed him in Persian. He seemed surprised; but after some hesitation, replied in the same language, apologizing for his bad pronunciation, and saying that some years had elapsed since he was in Persia. However, I had found the key which opened the museum and the library. The professor showed me a manuscript of the Revelations, supposed to have been written in the tenth century, beautifully executed in Latin, and ornamented with pictures; also a large volume of manuscripts he purchased at Bombay, containing an account of the religion of the Parsees and the tenets of Zoroaster, written in a character that he called Sund, quite distinct from the Sanscrit, and from every other with which I am acquainted. This library is enriched with all the manuscripts which Niebuhr collected during his travels: and a manuscript of part of Livy's history, written in the tenth century, is preserved here. Copenhagen contains a collection of pictures by the best masters from every country. These have been procured with great assiduity during the last twenty years. We spent a long time in the gallery; and though, after visits to the finest collections in Europe, a common picture-gallery has not for my eye the charm that it would have for one less practised, yet here I was amply repaid for extra exertion on a day of considerable fatigue.

The roads in Denmark are bad, and, by a natural consequence, travelling expenses are greater than in Sweden, where they are

excellent. In no part of the United States, as we are informed, is travelling so cheap as in the latter country; but, except in the towns, the accommodations for the traveller are generally wretched; yet, poor as the houses are, coffee, milk, eggs, bacon, and rye bread, may generally be obtained. From information communicated to us by an acquaintance, we have learnt, that, with all its drawbacks, Sweden is a pleasant country to travel in. The mode of proceeding is this. Twenty-four hours before setting out on a journey, it is needful for the traveller to despatch a messenger to provide relays of horses for him; and he must make his calculations respecting the time he can reach the various stations, in order to prevent delay on the one hand, or extra expense on the other; for, horses not being kept by the innkeepers, they are supplied by the neighbouring farmers at a fixed rate. These horses are generally of a small breed, but active and sure-footed. The traveller, however, can seldom exceed six miles an hour, as the owners of the animals generally accompany the vehicle, and will not suffer them to be driven beyond their accustomed speed. The harness commonly consists of ropes, but they are guided more by the voice than by the reins. The Swedes appear to have almost as much affection for horses, as the Arabs are said to have. In other respects, a good idea of what the traveller is likely to meet with in a journey, may be gathered from the following extract from Mr. Elliott:

"In one of the first stages in Sweden, I was accompanied through a forest of firs, by a fine girl of eighteen. She jumped up, and took her seat behind, with all the confidence of a man, and the innocence of a child. At the end of the stage,\* she mounted her nag, and returned to the plough on the farm. There is a peculiar simplicity in the Scandinavians: they are unacquainted with some of the decorums, and perhaps more of the evils, of a higher state of civilization. In one house I entered, a girl of sixteen or seventeen, of great beauty of feature, was making the family meal with no other garb than a petticoat. In another, two men and three women were distributed in three beds. My entrance did not disconcert them: one of the women arose, and procured me some milk, while the others only stretched themselves to look at the stranger. The men turned and yawned; then composed themselves for a little more sleep and a little more slumber. I halted, after a journey of eighty miles, at Strand, where nothing was procurable but milk and butter. The hovel was a wretched one, and I was thoroughly uncomfortable. Perhaps this was owing, in part, to a want of equanimity, for I had been vexed by the bad conduct of the man who accompanied me through the last stage. Towards the end of it, I had to cross in a ferry the lake of Vermelon, from the opposite bank of which the village of Strand is distant a quarter of a mile. On arriving at the water-side no boatmen were at hand, and I waited a long time. The owner of the horse then insisted on unharnessing the animal and returning, because it was late in the evening. As it was his duty to convey

\* In some, if not all parts in the United States, the word *stage* is commonly employed to signify a stage-coach; but in England it is usually restricted to the distance which is traversed without a change of horses, and is so used by our author.



me to the next post-station, I would not suffer him to go away; especially as I should have been unable, at that hour and with my ignorance of the language, to obtain another horse. He persisted in his determination; therefore I had no resource but to take the beast by force and lead him on the ferry. On such occasions, inability to reason with the individual, and a consciousness that physical superiority is on the side of the villagers, who will always espouse their brother's cause, are painfully felt. But on these and many greater annoyances the traveller must calculate, placing them in the scale against much enjoyment.

"The next morning I started at half past six, and accomplished nearly twelve Swedish, or about seventy-five English miles, by eight in the evening. The road laid through forests of fir, and was not strikingly beautiful in any part. Incessant rain through the day necessarily detracted from the pleasure of a drive in an open gig. Under less favourable circumstances, the surrounding country might have worn a better aspect. At Christinehamn I took the precaution to lay in a stock of bread to last till I reached Stockholm; and it was well that I did so, for some bacon and an omelet were all that the house where I lodged at night could supply; yet they were enough for one who had lately bivouacked four nights in the region of snow, with provender not so good."

Stockholm, from the description given of it, is built like Philadelphia, the streets intersecting each other at right angles; a mode often complained of by strangers for its formality and want of taste. "The parallel rows and formal quadrangles," says Mr. Elliott, "may appear beautiful to a Swede, whose ideas are frozen within the sixtieth degree of latitude, but they cannot interest a southern tourist." In one respect, however, Stockholm must have a picturesque appearance; its scite being, not like that of Philadelphia, level, but varied with hill and dale. We transcribe captain Frankland's description of it, premising, that how closely soever its plan may resemble the boast of Pennsylvania, in other respects it must be materially different.

"Whichever way," says he, "I turned in Stockholm, I was enchanted with the beauty of the city; island succeeding island, houses mounting over houses, churches over churches, and terraces over terraces, climbing up the sides of rocky and woody hills, which rise, as by enchantment, out of the water. But alas! the ugliness of the population, particularly the female part of it, diminishes much the gratification the eye derives from the scenery of this romantic-looking city. It abounds in statues, equestrian and pedestrian; fine buildings, handsome quays, &c.; but it wants fine squares and gardens and pretty faces. In the evening we went to the theatre, which is dark, dirty, and mean. The scenery is shabby; the acting tolerable; the music above par. The audience was ill-dressed and ill-looking. I never saw such a dearth of well-looking people in any (*other*) city of Europe, much less in a capital."

Amongst the curiosities of Stockholm are two manuscripts, in the King's Library. One, called the Codex Giganteus, brought by Gustavus Adolphus from a Benedictine convent at Prague, is supposed to be of the thirteenth century. It contains the chief part of the Bible, several books of Josephus, and a treatise on magic; and is ornamented with a gilt picture of the devil! The other manuscript is attributed to the fourteenth century, and con-

tains a treatise on maladies, each being illustrated by a drawing. Curious as these manuscripts may be, of how little value are they in comparison with those (if such there be) containing those portions of Livy, Cicero, and other authors of antiquity, which have been so long unknown to the world!

The Swedes appear to possess the virtue of honesty beyond many other people. Mr. Inglis says that their doors are constantly left unfastened; that horse stealing, sheep stealing, and sacrilege, are utterly unknown; and that no instance has ever occurred of the plunder of a charity-box. The latter is placed in many parts of the country by the road-side for the reception of alms, and is found beneficial to the poor, though there is besides a regular parish cess. Another good trait in their character is their hospitality. The traveller always meets with a kind reception; and in those thinly-settled districts which are unprovided with inns, the inhabitants entertain him in their best style, and refuse all compensation. If, in these particulars, they surpass some other nations, in others they fall behind. They are filthy both in their houses and their persons. Mr. Elliott complains that he could not persuade the servants of the necessity of sweeping the rooms daily, they considering a weekly cleansing sufficient; he had also to remonstrate three times with his travelling companion, gentleman as he was, before he could get him to such a degree of cleanliness as was essential to prevent disgust.

The Swedish language is known to be of Teutonic origin; yet it contains a slight admixture of words from the Slavonic, the latter having been introduced, as Mr. Elliott supposes, from the Russian, which is almost entirely Slavonic. Dr. E. D. Clarke mentions in his *Travels*, that his servant, who was a Yorkshireman, could make himself tolerably well understood by the natives; and Mr. Inglis says, that he found lowland Scotch very serviceable, as, by its means, he could usually do the same. It is probable that Swedish is not more different from Anglo-Saxon than some of the present dialects in England are from each other. These different dialects or brogues have been lost in this country, with one or two slight exceptions, the various peculiarities having merged into common English, owing to the mixture of emigrants from all parts of Great Britain and Ireland; so that though a Scotchman or a Yorkshireman might make himself intelligible to the Swedes, it may be doubted whether an American could.

The following account of Gothenborg by Mr. Elliott, and of his interview with the bishop of that city, can scarcely fail to excite interest:

“Gothenborg was founded by Charles IX., about two hundred years ago. It stands on the Gotha, whence it derives its name. The population may be about twenty thousand. The cathedral of Gothenborg is a large massive building of modern but singular style. Over the altar is a cross. Above (*it*)

a crown of thorns is suspended; and upon it is a robe such as the Asiatics wear round their loins. At the foot of the cross are two angels, the one with his breast covered by his hands, the other pointing to the skies. The whole is richly wrought in gilt work, the figures being as large as life. A similar representation of angels' heads on a smaller scale is attached to the front part of the pulpit. On either (*each*) side of the church is a range of windows, forming the face of the vestry and anti-room. These are likewise richly gilt, and add to the splendour of the *tout ensemble*. Over the altar, which stands in a recess, the roof is shaped into a dome, that not only gives an air of novelty to the interior of the building, but makes it appear larger than it really is.

"I had an interesting interview with the venerable bishop of Gothenborg, the head of the Lutheran Swedish church. He called on me, and I returned his visit. He is about forty-five years of age, and a man of pleasing manners. He told me that he had distributed in Sweden fifty thousand Bibles and Testaments belonging to the Bible Society; that when the last meeting was held, he had already disposed of two hundred and fifty Bibles, and fourteen hundred Testaments since January; and that he hoped to make the numbers five hundred and two thousand respectively in the course of the year. You are aware that the Lutherans believe the co-existence of the body and blood of the Saviour with the eucharistic symbols, as the Catholics do the transformation of those symbols into the sacred elements. They are violently opposed to the doctrine of election, which, they say, involves that of final reprobation. On this subject I had some conversation of a striking nature with the venerable prelate; as also on 1 John v. 16, 17, which, he thinks, refers to final obduration of heart. He urged me to visit the bishop of Christiania, and count Rosenblad, the premier of Sweden, to whom he favoured me with an introduction. They are the heads of the church and state in Norway and Sweden, and have the higher honour of standing forth as the champions of true religion, in a land of much darkness. In Sweden, however, all is not dark; there is more than a glimmer of religious light. The bishop thinks that the Spirit of God is evidently moving on the face of the waters."

Mr. Elliott's interview with the premier took place afterwards at Stockholm, and appears to have given mutual gratification. Count Rosenblad remarked to him, that his being an Englishman and a friend to the Bible, were sufficient recommendations without the bishop's letter.\* The number of dissenters from the established church is very small; yet the observance of religion is by no means neglected, as might be inferred from the preceding quotation, but well attended to, as is evident from the following passage from Mr. Inglis's book:

"My journey from Uddevalla was made on a Sunday, always an interesting day to a traveller in a foreign country, from the number of country people he meets on the road, attired in their best apparel. Judging from the concourse of persons who thronged the road, and particularly from the multitudes assembled in a church-yard which lay close to it, I had every reason to conclude that the Swedes are a church-going people. This church-yard had a very singular appearance. Gigs, carts, and vehicles of every kind, not fewer, I am certain, than a hundred, stood in the avenues leading to the church, while horses, far more numerous of course than the carriages, were standing

\* "Mon ami l'évêque m'a écrit beaucoup pour vous; mais ici, vous n'avez pas besoin d'une lettre de recommandation; c'est assez d'être un Anglais, and d'avoir regard à la cause de la Bible."



or lying on the grass without saddle or bridle, which their owners carried into church with them, not from any dread of their being stolen, but because it would have otherwise been difficult to recognize one among hundreds lying on the grass. I was exceedingly pleased with the respectable appearance of the peasantry. I know they are poor,—wretchedly poor; but they had neither forgotten the way to the house of God, nor omitted in their poverty to provide decent apparel for their appearance there. From a height over which the road passed in the course of this day's journey, I counted no fewer than eleven churches in sight at the same time. From other specimens than that which I have just mentioned, I have no doubt of their being all well filled; but a traveller has some difficulty in understanding whence the congregations come, for very few villages are to be seen, and although substantial-looking houses are tolerably frequent, the country is by no means thickly scattered with cottages."

Bernadotte's popularity is great in Sweden, but not equally so in Norway; the Norwegians not having become thoroughly reconciled to their union with Sweden. As, however, that union is likely, in the concurrent opinion of our travellers, to be ultimately beneficial to both countries, and as the king's conduct appears to be, in the main, conformable to justice and policy, it is likely that his popularity will extend and become permanent. His throne is, we believe, as firmly established as that of any other European monarch, although he is not what is called a *legitimate* sovereign. The chief danger to which he is exposed is from Russia; but as England, France, Prussia, and Austria, are all jealous of that power, the further territorial augmentation of which is judged to be incompatible with the balance of power, the danger may be more imaginary than real. A second Pultowa might ruin Sweden, were it not for the fear of a general war consequent on such an issue; thus Russia will, most likely, keep within her limits.

Norway is little visited by tourists, though its savage mountain scenery and stupendous cascades ought to make it as attractive as Switzerland; but the latter, from its proximity to France and Italy, its romantic associations, and its superior roads and accommodations, will continue to enjoy the preference. The traveller in Norway must prepare to encounter difficulties, and such difficulties, that, unless he possess enthusiasm, he will shrink in despair from the prosecution of an extensive journey. Accordingly, those travellers who have explored that country, which may be styled more emphatically than Scotland,

"Land of the mountain and the flood,"

have been, not the fashionable rambles of the south of Europe, but men of science, impelled by an ardent desire to enlarge its boundary. A few, however, have been apparently more actuated by a roving disposition, than by any superior motive; and amongst these may be reckoned both Mr. Inglis and Mr. Elliott, who, though men of education, and fond of literature, cannot be classed with the scientific; their acquirements, if we may judge from their

volumes, being, as it respects chemistry, botany, mineralogy and geology, rather superficial than profound.

The paucity of foreign travellers in Norway will account for the surprise manifested by the natives at finding that a person could allege no other reason for visiting them than the gratification of curiosity. This is well exemplified in the following passage from Mr. Inglis, and which is valuable from its graphic description of Norwegian hospitality; a virtue which he found every where established.

“Early in the afternoon I came in sight of Kongsvinger, which, with its hill and the fortress upon the top of it, produces a striking and agreeable effect. Here I found a good inn where I was made extremely comfortable, having an excellent dinner set before me, consisting of fish, soup, wild duck, pancakes, good bread, butter and cheese; to which was added a glass of as good home-brewed,—pale and creamy as ever came out of Staffordshire. After finishing my welcome and luxurious repast, I walked out of the inn, and perambulated the little town. Looking through a large window, I saw about a dozen persons seated within, each with his pipe and a pot of beer, which I therefore concluded was the beverage of the place. Having abundance of time at my disposal, I walked in, and instantly had the offer of as many chairs as there were persons in the room, every one rising to make me a tender of his,—a piece of courtesy that probably no other traveller ever experienced in a public coffee-room. The news of the arrival of an Englishman in the town, had reached the coffee-room before I had made my appearance there; and I was therefore immediately recognized as the stranger. The civility was not paid to me in the character of an Englishman so much as in that of a stranger, whose claims are never disregarded in Norway. I accepted one of the proffered chairs, and took my pipe and pot like the rest. In the conversation that ensued, or rather in reply to the inquiries that poured in upon me, I gave some account of my journey, and the motive to it. The details of the journey,—except the intelligence that I had walked a great part of it,—created no surprise; but when I added that my motive was merely to see the country, every man drew the pipe from his mouth and looked incredulous. A journey without a commercial object, and by an Englishman, seemed to them scarcely to be credited. I believe there was not one of the ten or twelve smokers, who, after withdrawing his pipe, and squirting the tobacco juice from his mouth, did not put the same question—‘And you had, then, no commercial object whatever?’ But when they were convinced that it was even so, and that I had no eye to their firs, except to look at them, then a general political lamentation broke forth: ‘Alas, poor Norway!—No one comes to us now-a-days to buy our produce. The times are sadly changed;’ and so on. I ventured to say that during my last two day’s journey, I had seen a vast quantity of timber floating down the river, which showed that there was yet some trade left. But in reply to this I was told, that wood must be sold, else the people would starve, but the question was, how much profit was made by it. But when this momentary burst of lamentation was once over, I found that my private importance had greatly risen in the opinion of those around me, (as, indeed, I had always found in Norway,) from the circumstance of being a traveller without any eye to gain. One addressed me by the title of baron; another took my pot and got it refilled for me; and a third offered me some tobacco of a very superior kind. But the strangest mark of civility yet remained to be paid to me. I had finished my second pot of beer, and called out to know what I had to pay, when two or three of my companions instantly started up, and declared I should pay nothing. These two were seconded by

the rest, who all said that it would be a scandal to Kongsvinger to allow a stranger to pay for a pot or two of beer. I was forced to accept their hospitality, and, shaking hands with them all round, and drinking better days to Norway, a toast which I am sure I drank with sincerity,—I quitted the coffee-room."

The environs of Christiania are described by our two travellers as exquisitely beautiful, vieing with, if not surpassing, similar prospects of more celebrity in the south of Europe; but, with respect to the city itself, there is a discrepancy in their accounts. However high may be the feelings of the traveller in surveying the circumjacent beauties, they are all dissipated, according to Mr. Elliott, by an entrance within its walls; whereas Mr. Inglis says, that the city is one of the neatest, perhaps the handsomest, he had ever beheld. As, however, they concur in representing it as a place of but little commerce, it is probable that the want of interest, of which Mr. Elliott complains, arose principally from that cause. In another respect, there is an irreconcilable difference, the one asserting that the houses are principally built of stone, the other of brick.

Mr. Elliott visited two of the twenty professors attached to the university, one of whom, Mr. Hungstein, had recently returned from Siberia, to which country he had made a journey for the purpose of ascertaining whether an hypothesis of his, respecting the cause of the magnetic variations, could be sustained by fact. As he found that the variations at different places, corresponded with his previously formed calculations, it is reasonable to infer that his hypothesis is nearly conformable to reality. He supposes that there are two magnetic axes intersecting each other in the earth's centre, having their northern poles, one in Siberia, the other near the spot where captain Parry placed it. He allowed Mr. Elliott to take a copy of his map, illustrative of the theory, by which it appears that all the variations marked by navigators and travellers are satisfactorily explained.

From each of the travellers we have a correspondent account of the *Storting*, as the legislature of Norway is called; but as that of Mr. Inglis has the merit of superior distinctness, we give it the preference.

"While I remained in Christiania the Diet assembled, and I, of course, attended one of its sittings, which was conducted in quite as orderly a manner as in the British House of Commons, or in the French Chamber of Deputies. But the dress and appearance of the members was (*were*) somewhat different. In England, the respectable inhabitants of all the provinces dress nearly alike, and might assemble together in the metropolis without exciting any wonder from the diversity of costume. But it is otherwise in Norway. Every division has its distinguishing costume; and this assembly of delegates presents, therefore, a very motley, and almost a ludicrous appearance to a stranger. Several of the deputies wore jackets and girdles. These I recognized as the natives of Tellemarken, through which I had recently passed. Others, whose coats were as much beyond the length of an ordinary coat, as the jackets of the former were shorter, and who might be seen walking to the hall, their heads covered with something of the shape and colour of a Kilmarnock night-



cap, I was informed were the deputies of Gulbrandsdalen, the mountainous district bounded on the north by the Dovne Field and its range. The appearance of the assembly altogether, was not superior to that collected at a second-rate cattle-show in England, but infinitely more grotesque. Among the number, however, were several wealthy land-owners, chiefly from the country skirting the Miasen, and from the districts lying on both sides of the Christiania Fiord. They seemed to conduct their deliberations with temper and decorum, although there were neither wigs nor black rods; and I will venture to say, they stood less in need of reform than some other deliberative assemblies.

"On the occasion of opening the Diet, a public ball was given, which I attended. The wives and daughters of a few of the deputies had come to Christiania, and were present; their homespun and homemade dresses singularly contrasting with the more fashionable attire of the belles of the metropolis. There were nearly two hundred persons present, of whom about one half were ladies; and here I had additional confirmation of the unfavourable opinion I had before conceived of the fair Norwegians. Fair they certainly are; and, upon this occasion, the presence of two handsome Swedish girls, dark eyed and raven haired, was rather unpropitious to the display of Norwegian charms. The Norwegians are indefatigable dancers. The rooms were large, and almost the whole of the company were on the floor at the same time, and seemed never to require an instant's rest. For my own part, I had the misfortune to be placed in a dance in which there were no fewer than sixty couples; and my partner, a fair Norwegian, danced me to the very foot, giving me an opportunity of whirling a few turns of a waltz with every one of the sixty ladies. The music was tolerably good; it consisted of two violins, a bass, and two flutes, which were better played than we are accustomed to hear in an English provincial town. An excellent cold supper was twice spread in an adjoining room; and, as is invariably the case when a number of Norwegians are assembled together, *Gamble Norge* was drunk, and the national song sung in full chorus. *God save the King* was also played by the band, in compliment, as I was informed, to me, and the *King of England* given as a toast."

To this account we have only to add from Mr. Elliott, that the members of the *Storthing* dine together during the session in a large room, the table being neatly though not sumptuously spread, the want of a profusion of plate being supplied by flowers; a mode of decoration, which, to persons of uncorrupted taste, must appear singularly beautiful.

Mr. Elliott being desirous of seeing that wonderful cataract, the *Riukenfoss*, contrived to include it in his route from Christiania to Bergen. Since this has been mentioned by several authors as more magnificent than the Falls of Niagara, we turned to his description of it with keen interest; but as he has not mentioned the depth and width of the river, we were not fully satisfied. We find, however, from another account, that the body of water, if not equal to that of Niagara, is yet so prodigious, that it is surpassed in magnitude by few cataracts in the world; so that when the height of the fall is considered, it must be considered as one of the grandest scenes in nature. As Niagara is computed not to exceed one hundred and sixty feet in height, we can easily imagine that the *Riukenfoss* may have a more imposing aspect. The following is the account given by Mr. Elliott of the visit paid by himself and his travelling companions to this stupendous scene.

"For four miles we scrambled over rocks, where, in places, there was nothing more than a ledge just large enough to catch the side of the foot. The scenery is grand beyond description. The mountains on either side of the valley are covered to the very summits with wood; while, in the middle, the river rolls its angry waters through a rugged channel whose inclination augments constantly their velocity. At length we reached the Foss. I do not remember to have seen a sight so calculated to inspire terror. The Moen rushes through a rock blackened by time, and falls from a height of *four hundred and fifty feet* perpendicularly, into a cauldron of the same dark material. The foam, or *riuken*, rises so high as to conceal from the distant spectator the depth of the fall, which we could duly appreciate only when lying on the ground and looking over the edge of the precipice at its highest point. Whether real or fancied, the earth seemed to tremble under the concussion of the continuous torrent. At this moment the sun burst from behind a cloud, and shining upon the falling water and the playful spray, cast obliquely on the dark back ground a perfect double rainbow approaching nearly to a circle. The effect was exceedingly striking. Placed in the only point where the circumstance was incomplete, we saw ourselves clothed with the rainbow. Unprepared as we were for so extraordinary a position, it was too sublime; and we almost shuddered at the glory of the vesture with which we were surrounded: while in the beauty and grandeur of this master-piece of His hand, we recognized the power of Him, who weigheth the mountains in scales, and covereth himself with light as with a garment."

From the Riukenfoss Mr. Elliott proceeded by an unexplored pass over a range of mountains, named the Hardanger Field. That this was a perilous undertaking may be easily comprehended, when it is stated that the estimated distance over the mountains was a hundred miles; but the minds of the party being wrought up to the requisite ardour, they resolved to make the attempt. Accordingly they crossed the lake of Tind to a village of the same name, where they arrived at midnight, and obtained a bed of hay. On the following morning they waited on the priest, hoping to gain some intelligence from him respecting their route; but as he understood neither English, French, Italian, German, nor Latin, they had to depend on their servant as interpreter, and could learn nothing more than that the pass, if such there were, had never been explored. As, however, the map indicated the existence of a village at the distance of eighteen miles, they set off for it, and towards evening reached a cluster of wooden houses, where they ate with great relish some husky rye bread and hard bacon. The people informed them that the mountains were an insuperable barrier between them and the western coast, so that they began to have misgivings concerning the accomplishment of their scheme; but learning that a solitary mountaineer, distant some miles, knew more of the district than the others, they sent for him. He said that he knew the bearing of Bergen, and that he was willing to accompany them; so they agreed with him for seven dollars. The country they traversed in their first day's march was horribly dreary, but agreeably varied in one spot by the sight of a herd of rein-deer. The rain poured and the cold was severe; but as the

guide promised them the shelter of a hut, they pushed on as well as they could, and reached it at eleven o'clock at night. They found that it was formed of stones rudely put together, with a hole in the centre as a passage for smoke and fresh air, and was occupied by four women, three children and a calf, the smell and filth being exceedingly annoying. Bad as it was, they were glad to avail themselves of it; so spreading their horse-blankets on the wet ground, and turning their feet towards the embers, they lay down; but the rain beating in violently, they could get but little sleep. In the next day's journey they accomplished twenty-three miles in a drenching rain, and at night reached a similar hut, but untenanted. The next place at which they stopped was inhabited by three women who had come there for the purpose of tending their cows during the summer months, some good pasture being attainable in the valleys. These women treated them with some coarse rye flour boiled in cream, and to them it was really a treat; for hardship and privation will make that palatable, which would otherwise excite disgust. At their next halting place they found three girls occupied like the women they had left, and received from them the same sort of refreshment. Desirous of reaching another hut distant about seven miles, they took leave of the girls at half past seven in the evening, but after three hours journey over snow,—for their elevation was four thousand feet,—the guide confessed that he had lost his way. As at that time a tempest was raging, their situation was truly pitiable. A consultation was held, the result of which was, a determination to find their way back to the hut they had left. The girls arose at their call, supplied them with the same sort of homely but nutritious fare, which they had before received, and made the best accommodation for them which their hut afforded; but this was so bad, that though they slept a little at first, they were soon awake again from actual pain. In their behaviour these girls were unaffected and modest, and received very reluctantly the acknowledgment which the travellers compelled them to accept; but as an umbrella much excited their admiration, it was given them as a keepsake. It was necessary for our travellers to reach, if possible, on the following day, the hut they had missed on the preceding. When they gained the mountain where they expected to find it, they despatched the guide in search of it, while they, to shelter themselves from the storm and cold, crept under a projecting rock, which formed a cavity so small, that they were obliged to lie flat. At length the guide returned, and informed them that he had found the hut, but that two huntsmen had taken possession of it. This was joyful news; for having lost confidence in him, they hoped that these men might be able to direct them in their route towards Bergen. Their hopes were realized, and they gladly accepted their offer to act as pioneers.



"It was well," says Mr. Elliott, "that we did so; for trackless mountains of snow, far larger than any we had traversed, lay directly in our route. Sometimes the horses descended a frozen inclined plane, one false step on which would have involved the rider in certain destruction. Sometimes the half-melted surface broke under the incumbent weight, and the deeper subsidence of the animal was arrested only by the breadth of his chest. As the mist cleared away, we saw that we were passing through scenery of a highly interesting character. The mountains appeared in a less unbroken line, while cataracts here and there indicated the presence of some mighty reservoir above, from which their waters were supplied. Bold peaks, rugged precipices, and extensive lakes varied the scene.

"Every thing conspired to stimulate feelings of hope and interest which had never flagged, when suddenly, at nine o'clock, a glacier burst on our view. We were descending into a valley. A dark mountain rose above us, and a cataract rolled down its cleft, uneven sides. A crown of ice reposed in grandeur on the summit, two thousand feet above. The thickness of the glacier was some hundred feet; the edge of its upper surface appeared quite even. Its extent was said to be ten English miles. The effect was truly imposing. We now came to a succession of hills of granite utterly naked, devoid of even moss and lichens. They extend about ten miles, and are dreary in the extreme. The effect, however, is good. They prepare the eye to receive with a fuller force of contrast the lively prospect that shortly opens on it.

"Without the least warning or expectation, we came to the edge of a mountain, and saw the termination of our labours. The delight we felt was extatic. The sun shone upon the valley, stretched out three thousand feet below. At an angle formed by the meeting of a double chain of hills, four cataracts pour their waters from different elevations into a river which seeks the neighbouring fiord. For four days we had not seen a tree—a whole forest now lay before us. In the valley the Lilliputian haymakers were tossing about the grass in all the short-lived gaiety of a northern summer. The church and parsonage smiled upon the scene. The most beautiful fiord in Norway expanded itself to our view. On the other side, a ridge of mountains rose perpendicularly to the height of perpetual congelation. Their snow-clad summits now appeared beautiful, because distant from us, and formed a contrast with their richly wooded slopes and the fertile valley. A descent of seven miles occupied two hours and a half. As we approached nearer to its blue waters, the Soe fiord, the village of Opedal, and the rural parsonage of Ullensvang, seemed to multiply their charms. The view of the Skreekenfoss and Riikenfoss, or *noisy* and *vapoury* waterfalls,—the two largest of the cascades,—is more imposing from below, where their size is more justly appreciated. The first fall of the former from the top of the cliff, three thousand feet above the fiord, may be about four hundred feet. It then rushes down a precipitous slope of somewhat greater extent, still preserving its character as a waterfall. From that point it runs along an inclined plane of forty-five degrees for two thousand feet, and is lost in the river.

"I am afraid to express what we felt when standing on the summit of the cliff, surveying the scene around; but each of us thought that our labours were more than repaid. We were probably the first, except a straggling unobservant huntsman, who had ever beheld this masterpiece of nature's works. We were assuredly the first who had ever dwelt on it at the end of such a journey, with minds so prepared to receive and contemplate its beauties. It is a bold assertion, but true, that I cannot recollect any view on the Alps or the Himala, which, uniting the minute beauties and grand outlines, the loneliness and sublimity, the varied objects so numerous and so perfect of their kind, as altogether equal to this."

At the parsonage, the travellers received hospitable entertain-

ment, though the provost, as he is styled, was not at home. He afterwards wrote a letter to Mr. Elliott in French, but which is so curious a specimen of that language, both in orthography and syntax, besides being mixed with English and Latin phrases, as to be quite amusing. Did our limits permit, we might insert it entire as a curiosity, but our readers must be satisfied with the following extract.

"Je béni de tout mon cœur the British and Foreign Bible Society ! Voyez, Monsieur, si il vous plairait, the twelfth report of the society, An. 1816, page 63, ma lettre de Julii 10, 1815 ; vous en verrez combien j'estime ce dessein le plus noble et le plus bien, faisant de fonder the Bible Society, c'était par-toutement une inspiration divine, que de la fonder. Nous Norvegiens avous aussi Notre Bible Society ; votre reports vous en avertirent ; mais notre presse d'imprimerie n'est pas encore perfectionné à souhait ; c'est la raison parceque (pourquoi) nous nous servons de l'imprimerie à Londres, qui remplit nos plus hautes attentes.

"Comme ce n'est qu'avec grande satisfaction je lis vos lettres predites, dont vous m'avez honoré, et vous rend grace de votre promesse. Should any of your family or friends be visiting England, a letter to any one of our party will ensure for them a cordial welcome and every attention which it may be in our power to show.—Merci ! Monsieur ! il peut evenir. Nam accidit in puncto quod non speratur in anno.—Il faut donc, que je vous avoue qu'il m'ait été bien difficile de déchiffrer plusieurs mots de vos tres honnorees lettres, écrites en Tachygraphie. C'est pourquoi j'ose vous prier, si vous voudriez m'honorer de réponse, de m'écrire ou en Français, ou en Latin, (on m'a dit que vous le pouvez,) ou bien en Anglais ; mais avec de caracteres plus intelligibles.—Excusez cela, je suis un viellard de 71 an : ma vue is très foible. Aidez aussi à cette ma lettre en mon palois !!!—Ce moment ai je l'honneur de voir chez moi The Honorable Shore, Esq. fils du Lord most honorable Teignmouth, qui m'a promis de vous apporter cette lettre."

The worthy provost having been removed by death, Mr Elliott has since judged rightly in supposing that the publication of this letter would not be inconsistent with the rules of decorum. It is gratifying to learn from it, that he was visited at different times by ten English gentlemen, several of whom are scientific or literary characters, since it is desirable that even the outskirts of civilization should be kept in correspondence with more favoured spots.

We have mentioned Mr. Inglis's skill in description, and think that our readers will be pleased with a specimen or two. Quotations from books of travels are often more interesting to the readers of literary journals, than the speculations of reviewers, and this consideration must be our apology for making such liberal use of the language of others.

"The rocks on the mainland were of the most fantastic and picturesque forms,—generally of great altitude, and every where dipping in the water in which they were distinctly reflected. The clefts were fringed with shrubs, and trees hung where the roots seemed to grow to the solid stone. In some places, a deep ravine, dark with fir, separated two frowning precipices, chasms, and caverns, from some of which little streams gushed, seeming like silver threads hanging among the rocks, were every where visible ; and now and

then the rocks opened into a creek, winding some miles inland, among stupendous precipices overhung with wood. On the side towards the sea, bare rocks, many of them covered with sea-fowl, hemmed in the channel, while through the openings was seen the swelling ocean, bounded by the horizon, and now and then a ship in full sail gallantly bearing on its way. Add to all this, the smooth blue water around us, the mild air, the mellow sunbeams, a goat looking over the rugged height, the fish leaping on every side, their scales glancing in the light, and the birds skimming the surface, the tip of their wings occasionally dimpling the pure mirror; and I think it will be admitted that a happier assemblage of pleasant and striking images, have seldom delighted the eye of a traveller.

"The very perfection of picturesque beauty, verging upon grandeur, is spread over the country through which my route now lay; and in a hundred directions, north and west, savage sublimity appears in its hundred forms. As I walked up the acclivities, and gazed around me, so ravishing was earth and sky, that I laughed aloud, and felt as if I could, like the Hartz demon, tread from one mountain peak to another. Pines, gigantic as those which once shrouded the Druid rites, shaded the hill sides; streamlets of the purest crystal glittered down the broken banks, and fell with a tinkling song into the calm blue lake, watering into fragrance the wild flowers that hung upon their brinks; and rocks, their rifted sides rich in foliage, hanging wild and fantastic, rose in pinnacled confusion upward from my path; while across the lake, and before me, the sunlit peaks of mountains lifted themselves against the sky, and

'—— like giants seemed to stand  
To centinel enchanted land.'

"As we approached the next station, the beauty of the scene was much heightened by three or four little boats leaning on the surface of the water, and the picturesque figures of the fishermen drawing their nets.

"I went to bed a little after nine, but was unable to sleep. I therefore got up about ten, and opened the window of my little chamber, which was upon the ground floor. The sun was shining brightly on the neighbouring heights; and, as I knew there was not much more than two hours interval between his setting and his reappearing, I resolved upon walking to the summit of a neighbouring hill, which, as far as I could judge, might be about 1500 feet high, to witness both his setting and his rising. I therefore leaped from my window into the little garden beneath, and made my way towards the hill that seemed the most accessible. I passed through some small fields of rye, some patches of oats, and some scanty pasturage, clear of the houses, and immediately found myself ascending the mountain. It was then not quite eleven; the sun hung trembling on the verge of the horizon, which, to my vision, was a bounded horizon, owing to the mountains which rose to the north and west, so that the summit was illuminated a considerable time after the steep I ascended was left in gloom. It was a laborious ascent, more so than I had anticipated; but I was in no disposition to rest; and, anxious to have a view over Norwegian wilds, in the twilight of a northern midnight, I proceeded vigorously on my way, now and then pausing to look back upon the difficulties of the ascent. It was a few minutes after midnight when I reached the summit of the hill, the height of which I had not duly estimated. It was a solemn and impressive scene. The dead stillness of midnight was over all; earth and air were reposing in it. No living thing was visible; no bird was on the wing; there was no cry of any animal. The sky was unclouded, but curtained by a pale film, through which the larger stars were faintly glimmering. The dark pine forests, darker in the shadows of the hills, threw a deeper shade over the sombre scene. The gray mountains, dun and majestic, were piled against the calm midnight sky; silence



and solitude sat on the hills, and all the pulses of nature were at rest. Long, very long, I could have remained lost in the contemplation of the solemn scene; but soon the mountains, and the valleys, and the woods were disrobed, their twilight veil dissolved in air; warm tints of light streamed up the sky, and earth stood revealed in the rosy garniture of morning. At length a rim of glory emerged from the horizon, and the broad sun sprung up into the clear azure. In a few moments the seeming of night was no longer visible; it was morning; and, as I descended from my elevation, I heard the chirping of the early bird, and saw the goats rise up and begin to crop the herbage."

The Norwegians are superstitious; so much so, indeed, that almost every unusual appearance or occurrence, is ascribed to supernatural agency. They believe in a being whom they name Nipen, and to whom they yield annually both a meat and drink offering, the omission of it being considered dangerous. Does a cow run away from her pasture? some of the family have offended Nipen. Is beer spoiled in brewing? Nipen must have been robbed of his drink offering. Has a person sustained any great loss? no doubt he failed in respect to Nipen; and in this way every event is influenced by him or by some of his subordinate agents. The Norwegians also believe in a mountain, a wood, and a river demon, each of whom exercises a local jurisdiction, as his denomination implies: in the mining districts, the miners and peasantry believe also in a mine demon. In addition to these various beings, there is a class called the subterraneous people, who have the power of magic to such a degree, that they can not only change their own shape and assume that of an animal, but can transform one animal into the appearance of another.

In patriotism, as is said to be the case with the natives of all mountainous countries, the Norwegians are immoderate: When, in a drinking party, *Old Norway* is the toast, each one then rises and manifests a degree of enthusiasm seldom witnessed in other lands more favoured by nature. Their national songs are spirit-stirring, of which the following, translated by Mr. Inglis, is a proof. It was of course composed before the union of the country with Sweden took place; it appears, however, to be still a favourite, as the translator heard it in Austerdalen.

Sons of the mountain, sons of the lake,  
Sons of the forest, old Norway, awake!  
They come from the east, ten thousand or more;  
But lakes are behind them, and foes are before.

Shall old Norway cease to be Norway the free?  
Each face to a Swede, and each back to a tree,  
Were our foes thrice ten thousand, our rocks should repeat  
The groan of the Swede as he falls at your feet.

Your mothers have nursed you, your fathers till now,  
Have filled you with bread by the sweat of their brow;  
But let peace be around him—the sire of fourscore—  
And drive the invader far, far from his door.

Then down from the mountain and up from the lake!  
And out from the forest! Norwegians awake!  
And rush like the storm on the thick coming foe;  
With hearts for old Norway, and death in your blow.

The climate of Norway is so salubrious, that invalids from other countries soon become convalescent, yet the winters are long and severe, the summers short and hot. The natives attain, apparently, to as old an age as in other countries, notwithstanding their habit of indulging in ardent spirits. Had they more intercourse with foreigners, it is probable they would discard some of their established customs—that, for instance, of the mistress of the house acting as waiter at table,—while increased refinement would teach them, that spitting on the floor or the carpet is not to be tolerated in genteel society. The sumptuous living of the richer class might be a little diminished without disadvantage, and the homely fare of the peasantry improved, though the latter class, according to Mr. Inglis, have a sufficiency of what is wholesome, and live in a manner decidedly superior to what would be inferred from the representations of some other travellers. On the whole, Norway is an interesting country, as to its scenery and inhabitants, and certainly merits a greater share of attention, both from the scientific and fashionable tourists, than it has hitherto received.

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#### JUDGE STORY'S COMMENTARIES.

ART. IV. *Commentaries on the Constitution of the United States; with a preliminary review of the Constitutional History of the Colonies and States, before the adoption of the Constitution.*—By JOSEPH STORY, LL. D. *Dane Professor of Law in Harvard University.* Boston: Hilliard, Gray, and Company. Cambridge: Brown, Shattuck, and Co. 1833.

FROM the hour of the promulgation of our Federal Constitution to the present time, a continued controversy has been carried on by our statesmen and politicians to fix or to unfix the meaning of certain essential parts of it. We have had an unceasing war of construction, and every clause and word of it has been subjected to the closest scrutiny. This has not happened by reason of any puzzling ambiguity in the instrument itself, for it is drawn with remarkable simplicity and perspicuity, but because we have had among us, from its birth, a class of politicians who, from deep rooted prejudices, irritating jealousies or selfish interests, have been hostile to every feature of federal power, and would make a

federal government a mere shadow, subservient in its most important concerns to the will of certain states whose pride revolts from the surrender of any portion of their power to the general objects and interests of the United States. Their first effort was to procure the rejection of a plan of government which would, unavoidably, strip them of some of their authority. In this they failed; and this government, so denounced and reviled, has been so successful, beyond all example, in raising us to unlimited prosperity at home, and high honour with all the nations of the earth, that a direct assault upon it would be repelled by the acclamation of the whole people. Its enemies, therefore, have applied their ingenuity, with unwearied industry and zeal, to obtain, by construction, the same end they originally sought by the overthrow of the whole scheme. They would paralyze every nerve of the federal government, and withdraw from it the vitality necessary for its conservation. They would deprive it of the ability to extend its protection and usefulness to every part of our country, and to every branch of industry and enterprise, and reduce it to a pageant for our intercourse with foreign nations, but absolutely powerless as to our vast and increasing domestic objects and interests.

However the great parties in the United States may have changed their names with circumstances, and occasionally interested themselves in other matters, the real, radical and essential difference has always been upon the question of federal and state power. The federalists were for giving efficiency to the general government in the exercise of the powers conferred on it by the Constitution, and for adopting such a construction of that instrument as would enable it to accomplish the national objects declared in the preamble, "to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity." The other party, a class of politicians who were descriptively called "anti-federalists," entertained wishes and doctrines the reverse of their opponents. They were for cutting down the federal government to a mere modicum of power and influence, leaving to the states the real attributes of sovereignty. This was to be done by, what is called, a strict construction of the Constitution; by confining the federal power within the narrowest limits into which it could be drawn without an obvious violation of its provisions. So the controversy stands to this day; and numerous precedents, repeated practice, a long course of legislation and judicial decisions have done but little in removing the grounds of the dispute.

As the security of the "blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity" depends upon the full and faithful administration of our government, according to the true intent and meaning of the Constitution, every inquiry which leads us to that meaning is of the



first importance to us and our posterity. In settling this construction, our surest reliance should be on the solemn decisions of the federal judicial tribunals, constituted for the purposes of construing all laws, of which the Constitution is but the highest, and which, on such questions, are commissioned to speak with authority. Next to these we would look to the opinions of our distinguished statesmen and jurists, who have carefully examined the Constitution, compared its various parts and studied its history. We would give a very limited and qualified confidence to our orators in Congress, especially in this day, who in their speeches have generally some point to carry, some party project to uphold, or some local interest to promote, to which they shape their argument and bend their opinions. Very different are the temper and views of a statesman or jurist who sits down to examine the instrument with a cool head and no wish or intention but to expound it truly, and to give it all the effect, and no more, that the framers when they made it, and the people when they adopted it, intended that it should have. We know not that we could point to an individual better qualified for this task than the author of these "Commentaries." His habits of severe study, and an accurate investigation and comparison of written instruments, and his long official experience in the examination of legal and constitutional questions, with a powerful and penetrating mind, give a value to his labours upon this subject which few commentators could receive or claim. The researches of the Judge are peculiarly acceptable at this time, when many of the questions he has discussed have an interest from the movements which they lately excited in the South.

In reviewing this valuable work, it is our intention to give such an outline of the plan of the author, with some of his leading principles, as can be comprised within our limited space, and may serve to enable our readers to judge for themselves of its merits. We know that even this will be done very imperfectly. The Commentaries are themselves a review of the Constitution—a condensed abridgement of the expositions which its provisions and principles have received from judicial decisions and the writings of our eminent statesmen and jurists. The Judge takes not a step without feeling that his ground is firm, and his way marked by the surest guides.

In our outset we have no fear in assuring our readers that the Commentaries contain a full, lucid and satisfactory explanation of the history and principles of our government, and the distribution of its powers, sustained by a course of clear and consistent reasoning and high authority. When the incomparable essays of "The Federalist" were published, the Constitution was untried, and their illustrious authors could but present to their country their conviction of what it was intended to be, and what it would be if faithfully administered. Their opinions and arguments have now

been tried by the experience of more than forty years, in peace and in war, and that experience has sanctioned their principles, and established their claims to our admiration and gratitude. On this foundation, enlarged and strengthened by the decrees of our highest judicial tribunal, Judge Story has mainly erected his work.

In the preliminary chapter the learned author announces his object to be "to present a full analysis and exposition of the Constitution and government of the United States;" and that, "in order to do this with clearness and accuracy, it is necessary to understand what was the political position of the several states composing the Union, in relation to each other at this time of its adoption." To accomplish his object, the plan of his work comprehends three great divisions:

"The first will embrace a sketch of the charters, constitutional history and anti-revolutionary jurisprudence of the colonies. The second will embrace a sketch of the constitutional history of the states, during the revolution, and the rise, progress, decline and fall of the confederation. The third will embrace the history of the rise and adoption of the constitution; and a full exposition of all its provisions, with the reasons on which they were respectively founded, the objections by which they were respectively assailed, and such illustrations, drawn from contemporaneous documents, and subsequent operations of the government, as may best enable the reader to estimate for himself the true value of each."

The Judge adds, and we ardently join in the sentiment, that "in this way, it is hoped, his judgment, as well as his affections, will be enlisted on the side of the Constitution, as the truest security of the Union, and the only solid basis on which to rest the private rights, the public liberties, and the substantial prosperity of the people composing the American republic."

The first two divisions of the plan are, doubtless, exceedingly curious and interesting, and they are treated with extraordinary precision and perspicuity; but the third is that which is of more immediate importance, and to this the Judge has given an enlarged attention and examination. His chapter on the "Origin of the Title to Territory of the Colonies," derives an interest, beyond mere curiosity, from the late discussions of the nature of Indian titles to the soil, at the time of the discovery of this continent, on the principles of natural law. The author disclaims an intention of discussing the actual merits of the titles claimed by the respective parties, that is, the discoverers and the aborigines, the civilized man and the savage; but he has given a sketch of the European titles, or claims to title, with the opinion of the Supreme Court in the celebrated case of "*Johnson vs. M'Intosh*."

We make but a general reference to the chapters on the "Origin and Settlement of Virginia and her Colonial Laws." A similar history is given in relation to the other colonies, replete with a close and learned examination of several interesting questions connected with the subject. To this examination follows—"The

History of the Revolution, and of the Confederation." In this place, the Judge offers his opinion upon the question, so often agitated, whether, "antecedent to the Declaration of Independence, the colonies were, or pretended to be, sovereign states, in the sense in which the term sovereign is sometimes applied to state." He thinks they were not, and made no such pretension. He says—"the term *sovereign*, or *sovereignty*, is used in different senses, which often leads to a confusion of ideas, and, sometimes, to very mischievous and unfounded conclusions. By *sovereignty*, in its largest sense, is meant, supreme, absolute, uncontrollable power, the *jus summi imperii*, the absolute right to govern." He thinks that "a state which possesses this absolute power, without any dependencies upon any foreign power or state, is, in the largest sense, a sovereign state." In like manner the Judge examines the meaning of the word "state," which he says is used in various senses. The signification of these terms became of vital importance in deciding the question of jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, in the controversy between Georgia and the Cherokee Indians. Our author says that, in reference to foreign states, if a state has *the sole power of governing itself*, and is not dependant upon any foreign power, it is called a *sovereign state*; and he adds that "it is in this sense that the term is generally used in treaties and discussions on the law of nations." We would ask, in passing, is this the condition of the Cherokees? Can it be pretended? The reader will do well to look to the opinions of the judges of the Supreme Court, in the case alluded to, in connection with this part of the Commentaries; the facts and arguments here delivered apply directly to the question of jurisdiction mentioned.

Our author carefully refers to various declarations, acts and proceedings of the several colonies, particularly Virginia and South Carolina, to show that they did not claim to be sovereign states. He makes an extract from a speech of C. C. Pinckney, in the legislature of South Carolina, in 1788, in which that able lawyer and true patriot, speaking of the declaration of independence, says, "The separate independence and individual sovereignty of the several states were never thought of by the enlightened band of patriots who framed this declaration." Mr. Pinckney adds, "Let us then consider all attempts to weaken this union by maintaining that each state is separately and individually independent, as a species of political heresy, which can never benefit us, but may bring on us the most serious distress." The whole history and argument of Judge Story on this question, which has been lately revived to sustain doctrines to "weaken this union," is worthy of the most attentive perusal. We would say that whatever was the condition, in this respect, of the several colonies or states, antecedent to the adoption of the Constitution, whether they were sovereign in the largest sense, or in a limited sense, or in no sense



at all, their present condition, their claims to sovereignty at this time, must be decided by the Constitution; the compact which they have deliberately and freely made with each other, and by which they are and will be bound until they break the obligation by violence and rebellion. So much sovereignty, so much independent power as they possess, under and by that instrument, they are entitled to, and no more; so far and no farther have the several states "a separate independence and individual sovereignty," and to contend for more is indeed "a political heresy, which can never benefit us, but may bring on us the most serious distresses." Judge Story proceeds, "Whatever may be the theories of ingenuous men on this subject, it is historically true, that before the declaration of independence, these colonies were not, in any absolute sense, sovereign states; that that event did not find them or make them such; but, at the moment of their separation, they were under the dominion of a superior controlling government, whose powers were vested in and exercised by the general Congress, with the consent of the people of all the states." In a note our commentator remarks,—"that when Chief Justice Marshall, in *Ogden vs. Gibbon*, admits that the states, before the formation of the Constitution, were sovereign and independent states, and were connected with each other only by a league, it is manifest that he uses the word 'sovereign' in a very restricted sense. Under the confederation there were many limitations of the powers of the states."

As the question of the sovereignty of the several states, at any period of their existence, has been a subject of frequent and animated discussion, particularly since the delivery of Mr. Adams's oration in July 1831, the author of the *Commentaries*, adopting the opinion that they never did possess such sovereignty, adduces with his usual perspicuity and strength, the authority and reasons on which he founds his opinion. The articles of confederation, he says, were not prepared or adopted by Congress until Nov. 1777; they were not signed or ratified by any of the states until July 1778; and they were not ratified so as to become obligatory on all the states until March 1781. "In the intermediate time, Congress continued to exercise the powers of a general government, whose acts were binding on all the states. And although they constantly admitted the states to be "sovereign and independent," yet it is obvious that the terms were used in the subordinate and limited sense already alluded to, for it is impossible to use them in any other sense, since the majority of the states could, by their public acts in Congress, control and bind the minority. Among the exclusive powers exercised by Congress were those to declare war and peace; to authorize captures; to institute appellate prize courts; to direct and control all national, military and naval operations; to form alliances and make

treaties ; to contract debts, and give bills of credit on national account. In respect to foreign governments, we were politically known as the United States only ; and it was in our national capacity, as such, that we sent and received ambassadors ; entered into treaties and alliances, and were admitted into the general community of nations who might exercise the right of belligerents, and claim an equality of sovereign powers and prerogatives.

Our author confirms his opinion by a reference to the judicial opinions of Chief Justice Jay, and Justices Patterson and Chase, in the cases cited by him. We remark that our treaty with France, in 1778, commences with declaring the parties to be "The most Christian King, and the Thirteen United States of North America, to wit : New Hampshire, Massachusetts," and so on, naming them all—and not describing them in the aggregate as "The United States." The contracting parties are the King of France on the one side, and the United States, to wit : New Hampshire, &c. on the other. In the subsequent parts of the treaty, however, "The United States of America" are mentioned as a known and recognized government or state, repeatedly. The act rescinding the 11th and 12th articles of the treaty, commences, "*The General Congress of the United States* having represented to the King, &c." and in a subsequent part, France is spoken of as *one of the states* making the treaty, and the *United States as the other*. Facilities are granted by the king to promote the commerce of the subjects of the *United States*, and of the *said states*.

To add something, for the curious inquirer, to the history of this question, and not because we think it of any importance at this time, we would refer the reader to the "Secret Debates" of the Federal Convention, published from the notes of Mr. Yates, and received as authentic. In this report, Mr. King is stated to have said :

"None of the states are now sovereign or independent. Many of their essential rights are vested in Congress. Congress, by the confederation, possesses the rights of the United States. This is a union of the *men of the states*. None of the states, individually or collectively, but in Congress, have the rights of peace and war. The magistracy in Congress possesses the sovereignty. To certain points we are now a *united people*."

MR. MARTIN, in the beginning a decided opponent of the Constitution, but afterwards an ardent and efficient friend, said :

"When the states threw off their allegiance to Great Britain, they became independent of her and *each other*. They united and confederated for mutual defence ; and this was done on principles of perfect reciprocity. They will now meet on the same ground. But when a dissolution takes place, our general rights and sovereignties are reserved."

MR. WILSON : "The declaration of independence preceded the state constitutions. What does this declare ? In the name of the *people of these states*,

we are declared to be free and independent. The power of war, peace, alliances and trade are declared to be vested in Congress."

MR. HAMILTON: "Cannot you make propositions to the people, because we were confederated on other principles! The people can yield to them if they will."

MR. SHERMAN. "Foreign states have made treaties with us as confederated states, not as a national government."

MR. MADISON. "The states never possessed the essential rights of sovereignty. These were always vested in Congress. Their voting as states in Congress, is no evidence of sovereignty. The state of Maryland voted by counties; did this make the counties sovereign? The states, at present, are only great corporations, having the power of making by-laws, and these are effectual only if they are not contradictory to the general confederation. The states ought to be placed under the control of the general government; at least, as much so as they formerly were under the king and British parliament."

MR. GERRY. "It appears to me that the states never were independent; they had only corporate rights."

We have suggested that the question of state sovereignty, antecedent to the adoption of the Constitution, can have no influence on the powers of that Constitution, and is now interesting only as a part of our political history. We beg the patience of our readers to attend us through a more detailed explanation of this opinion. We venture, at once, upon the declaration, that it is incomprehensible to us—but our comprehension may be dull or deceived—how for so many years and through countless pages of speeches and essays, these questions should have been discussed, and formidable, inveterate political parties raised upon them,—whether our Constitution was the act of the people of the United States in the aggregate, or of the people of the several states, or of the states as severally sovereign and independent. This is the ground on which have been erected the batteries of what are called "state rights," from which unceasing assaults have been made upon the general government, to weaken its foundations, and sap its strength. Is not this a war of words? or of by-gone difficulties? Can the argument, or the decision of such questions elucidate or determine the nature or the extent of powers granted to the federal government by the articles of the Constitution; or make the remaining powers of the states more or less than they are, after deducting from them the whole amount of their grants, testified by the Constitution, which is their act and deed? It cannot be questioned that this Constitution is the form of government made and adopted by the parties to it for the regulation of their common affairs; or that, whatever was the manner or form of adoption, it is binding on them. If it were "made and ordained" not by the people but by the states, still the act was the act of the people of the respective states, by their competent and authorized organs, and it is their act as fully and to every purpose, as if every individual citizen had given his assent to it. Why have we had an interminable debate about the several sovereignties of



the states before and after they acceded to the Constitution ; and on the question whether it was acceded to, by the states, or by the people of each state, or by the whole people of all the states? It is not denied that it was acceded to ; that it was adopted in a manner and by an authority competent to bind the people of every state, and, of consequence, all the people of all the states of the United States, severally and collectively. It was the act of every part, in its progress of adoption, and of the whole, finally, when it became the acknowledged government of the people of the United States, by them solemnly received and adopted, as their "*supreme law*." Can it be pretended that the effects of this adoption, and the rights and obligations resulting from it; that the construction of the instrument, of the contract, the compact or the league, by whatever name it may be called; that its binding operation upon the parties—can be enlarged or constrained, made weaker or stronger by going back to the question whether it was done by the states, by the people of the several states, or by the people of the United States, acting as one body ? It finally became and is the government of the United States, of the people of the United States, by their act and consent, and the instrument, the deed and all the grants contained in it are binding on them, whether that consent was given, and the deed made and executed by them in several parts, or as one great whole. It is the contract of the people to and with each other, and the contract itself must be resorted to, to determine what is its force and effect, and the rights and duties of the parties under it. If the authority by which the Constitution was ordained and established was not such as could bind the whole people of the United States to the Constitution, there is an end of it, and it binds them for nothing; but if the authority were good and sufficient, it can be of no importance how it was conferred ; it was conferred in the manner the people chose to confer it, and they ratified the act in their own way. The contract or compact being thus made by each of the states with the others, all the grants of power given by each to the whole, all the concessions of right made by each to the whole, for the general welfare, are as binding on each and all, as any moral, legal, or political obligation can be. The antecedent rank and condition of the parties are sunk in the contract, which was intended to change their positive and relative situations ; and it has changed them irrevocably, to the whole extent of the stipulations and provisions of the contract. If, then, we agree that antecedent to the Constitution the states were respectively sovereign and independent of all the world and of each other ; that the grants and concessions made by the Constitution were the acts of sovereign states, are they the less binding on the people of the states, whose sovereignty, whose whole power, was lawfully exercised in making these grants and concessions ? We desire to

be exactly understood in this matter, knowing that we are impeaching opinions and arguments of high authority, which have considered this question of much importance. We would rather be charged with repetition than obscurity. We beg our readers to allow us to put the case more precisely. Pennsylvania, a sovereign state, that is, the people of Pennsylvania, agrees with the sovereignties or people of twelve other states, and they agree with her, that it will be for their common advantage to ordain and establish a common government or constitution, in order to "provide for the common defence, to promote the general welfare, and to secure the blessings of liberty for themselves and their posterity." With these objects and intentions these thirteen sovereignties meet together to settle the terms and conditions upon which this common government, this constitution, shall be ordained and established, and to designate and define the grants and concessions which it is necessary for them to make to each other to accomplish their intentions.

The first requisite for a common government would at once appear to be a common legislation, with power to make all laws which should be necessary for the attainment and security of the common object; and that such laws should be binding on the whole to the whole extent of the legislative power in any state. It is agreed that this legislative authority shall be vested in a Congress of the United States; the manner of constituting this Congress, and its powers of legislation, exclusively or otherwise, are carefully set out, and, of consequence, the legislative power of the state before she made this grant must be curtailed and surrendered so far as it is inconsistent with the grant as testified by the Constitution. Can it make the difference of a straw, in the force and effect of the Constitution, to the people of Pennsylvania, whether they gave their assent to it, and became a party to it, as an independent, sovereign state, or as a portion of the people of the United States? In like manner have the people of Pennsylvania agreed to create a federal executive power, and a federal judiciary; and whatever of their power they have conceded to this executive and to this judiciary, is as fully and absolutely vested in them as it ever was or could be in the people of Pennsylvania, or in their state executive and judiciary. The acts to be done by this federal legislature, executive and judiciary, in pursuance of her grant, Pennsylvania has agreed shall be her supreme law, paramount to her local authorities and sovereign rights. Where then is the importance of the question, what Pennsylvania was at the time she became a party to this Constitution, a member of this government, claiming and receiving from it all the benefits of a common defence, a common welfare, and a common security for the liberty of her people and their posterity?

If, indeed, an attempt had been made to coerce a state into the Union, on the ground that she had no separate existence, but that her people were but a part of the whole people of the United States, and therefore bound to submit to the majority, the question would have been of immense importance, how far that state was a separate and independent power, or so mingled and merged in the whole, as to be subjected to the will of a majority of the whole?

We will add a word on the "reserved rights" of the states, an abundant subjects of controversy. It is very clear in this case, as in every case of a grant, that the party gives no more, parts with no more, than is given and granted by the contract, as it appears in the instrument which is the evidence of the contract. But in what respect does the Constitution of the United States differ here from any other government whose powers and functions are created and defined by a written instrument? How does it differ from the government of Pennsylvania? The people of that state appointed certain persons to make a form of government for them, which they adopted and established; and by it they conferred certain specified powers upon those who should afterwards be called to administer the government. This is their delegation of power: this is the power they have parted with, and no more; and they have reserved to themselves all that is not thus granted, and it remains with them just as it would have done if the Constitution or form of government had never been made. Is not this precisely the case with the government of the United States? The people of Pennsylvania, and of every state of the United States, have agreed to and adopted another form of government, for certain defined purposes, and have given to those who shall administer this government, certain powers and functions suitable for those purposes; and they have given no more; and what these powers and functions are, appears also by a written instrument. All that is not here given is reserved, remains with the people of Pennsylvania, just as in the case of their own state constitution, and no otherwise. When we shall hear of the federal government claiming any power not given to it by the constitution, or contending that it is the reservoir of the people's authority, and that they possess all that is not *taken from them*, then, and not until then, will the question of *reserved rights* be of any practical importance in our affairs. We mean not the question of what rights are reserved, for that must be determined by ascertaining what are granted, for which we must refer to the constitution only. It is well known that the contest about reserved rights has taken much broader ground than this, and been connected with the question of state sovereignty.

We agree that the *reserved rights*, or powers not granted to the general government, remain with the states *severally*, so far



that they may exercise them independently of each other. Thus the powers not prohibited to the states by the Constitution, belong to them, but each state may judge for itself, in what manner it will use any of these powers; or whether it will use them at all or not. For instance, the United States are forbidden to take private property for public use, without a just compensation; but every state may legislate on this subject at its pleasure, independent of the others; unless it may be considered that the constitutional prohibition embraces them respectively as well as the United States. But it by no means follows from this, that any state may dissolve her contract with the other states, and withdraw herself from the Union, whenever she conceives that the federal government has encroached upon these rights, unless the other parties to the contract agree to the separation: the remedy is by an appeal to the *whole people*, to *all the states*, by their elections, and if a majority of them shall agree that a violation of their rights has been committed, they will immediately bring the usurper back within his limits; if, on the contrary, a majority shall not be of this opinion, the complaining state is placed *constitutionally* in the wrong; she must submit, and surrender her judgment to that of the majority, which is the only principle on which a republican government can exist. Should a state legislature transcend its powers, and they have frequently done so, or a county in a state should suppose so, does any one imagine that the government is at once dissolved, its obligations annihilated, and the people, or any part of them, discharged from their duty to obey it; or that they may lawfully take up arms for redress? If these are sound constitutional doctrines, none of our governments are safe for an hour; rebellion will soon want no justification.

We return with pleasure to our "Commentaries," from an excursion which may be of less value than it seems to us; but we hope it will not be found altogether unprofitable. To some of our raw politicians, who think it a very easy matter to make and to mend constitutions, and frame governments which shall be secure from every abuse of power, we recommend the following remarks:

"It will be an instructive and useful lesson to us to trace historically the steps which led to the formation and final adoption of the articles of confederation and perpetual union between the United States. It will be instructive, by disclosing the real difficulties attendant upon such a plan, even in times when the necessity of it was forced upon the minds of men not only by common dangers, but by common protection, by common feelings of affection, and by common efforts of defence. It will be useful, by moderating the ardour of inexperienced minds, which are apt to imagine that the theory of government is too plain, and the principles on which it should be formed too obvious, to leave much doubt for the exercise of the wisdom of statesmen, or the ingenuity of speculatists. Nothing is indeed more difficult to foresee, than the practical operation of given powers, unless it be the practical operation of restrictions, intended to control those powers. It is a

mortifying truth, that if the possession of power sometimes leads to mischievous abuses, the absence of it also sometimes produces a political debility, quite as ruinous in its consequences to the great objects of civil government."

The history of the confederation fully exemplifies the wisdom and truth of these remarks. On the 12th of June, 1776, a committee was appointed in Congress to prepare and digest the form of a confederation. On the 12th of July, the committee presented a draft of articles. Objections and debates ensued, and the completion of the work was pressed by the most urgent necessity, and by the eloquence of the most influential and distinguished patriots; yet it lingered along between Congress and local legislatures, and it was not until July, 1778, that the articles were ratified by Congress, nor did its final ratification take place until March 1781. So much for conducting a federal government by the joint authority of Congress and the state legislatures! If our citizens will seriously look to the difficulties of framing a federal or state government to meet a general approval, and to accomplish, with reasonable success, the great objects of all good governments, they will be contented to bear with some disappointments, to submit to some abuses in the practical operation of their delegated powers, rather than to put the whole system afloat, and take their chance for what may come of it. Our machine, in the main, works well for all its important uses; if we should take it to pieces to improve some unsatisfactory movement, who can tell when and how it will be put together again? Loud complaints are made of the exercise of the executive power in Pennsylvania. Certainly it has sometimes been most injudiciously administered; but such is the nature of power in the hands of man. We will further admit that it is probable the framers of our Constitution made an estimate which experience has not justified, of the sort of qualifications which the people of Pennsylvania would require of their governor; and that, if they had foreseen into what hands the great powers of that office might fall, they would have put some check upon them; but we would not hazard the whole to correct this error. Let the people apply a better remedy by electing for this high station only such men as are truly worthy of it.

A further, and perhaps more striking confirmation of Judge Story's observations will be found in the Journal of Debates of the Federal Convention of 1787. Our country was sinking—we may say, was sunk into ruin, public and private, by the total imbecility of the confederation for all the purposes of government. A leading writer of the day described it thus—"By this political compact, the United States, or Congress, have exclusive power for the following purposes, without being able to execute one of them. They may make and conclude treaties, but can only recommend the observance of them. They may appoint ambassadors,

but cannot defray the expenses even of their tables. They may borrow money in their own name on the faith of the Union, but cannot pay a dollar. They may make war, and determine what number of troops were necessary, but cannot raise a single soldier. *In short, they may declare every thing, but do nothing."*

In such a state of things, with a consciousness that there was no preventive for the hastening dissolution and destruction that awaited them, but by the creation of a firm, competent and energetic general government, and with a most anxious and honest desire to provide the remedy, difficulties presented themselves which appeared insurmountable. The jealousies of state interests; the sensibility of state pride; the dread of giving up too much, or of some inequality in the operation of the grants upon the greater or smaller, the northern or southern states, offered at every step so many obstructions, that success seemed again and again to be hopeless, and the effort was on the point of being abandoned. Nothing but the most persevering patience, the most liberal and patriotic spirit of forbearance and compromise, could have brought the work to its happy, most happy, issue. Let those who are labouring for conventions, to amend, as they call it, our constitutions, federal and state, pause over this fearful history of our government, and beware how they throw us back into the elements of political strife.

Our author details briefly, but with great perspicuity and effect, the embarrassments in which our country was under the old confederation. Feeble as that government was, a jealousy of it began to exist among the state governments, and state interests predominated over the "general welfare." The most solemn and affecting appeals to the patriotism and good faith of the states failed to obtain a compliance with the most just and indispensable requisitions of Congress; and our shipping, navigation, domestic and foreign trade, were all smitten with the most fatal calamities, because there was no power in the general government to regulate commerce, and the several states could not be brought to agree on the measures necessary for their encouragement and protection. We may here offer an extract from the Commentaries, which may have an useful application to the present time. Speaking of the condition of our foreign commerce, the author says:

"In the first place, our navigation, having no protection, was unable to engage in competition with foreign ships. In the next place, our supplies were almost altogether furnished by foreign importers or on foreign account. We were almost flooded with foreign manufactures, while our own produce bore but a reduced price. It was easy to foresee, that such a state of things must soon absorb all our means; and as our industry had but a narrow scope, would soon reduce us to absolute poverty. Our trade in our own ships with foreign nations was depressed in an equal degree; for it was loaded with heavy restrictions in their ports. While, for instance, British ships with their commodities had free admission into our ports, American ships and exports were loaded with heavy exactions, or prohibited from entry into British ports. We



were, therefore, the victims of our own imbecility, and reduced to a complete subjection to the commercial regulations of other countries, notwithstanding our boasts of freedom and independence."

The Judge mentions as the leading causes of the distresses of the United States, at that time, "a growing jealousy of the general government, and a more devoted attachment to the local interests of the state; a jealousy which soon found its way into the councils of Congress, and enervated the little power which it was yet suffered to exert." The same jealousy haunts us now, and has, more than once, broken out in open menace and incipient violence. The firm and unshaken attachment of the great body of the people to the Constitution, the full knowledge and experience of the unexampled blessings they have enjoyed under it, and the fearful anticipations of the ruin which would spread over our happy country, should that Constitution be overthrown and our Union dissolved, have hitherto frustrated, and, we trust in God, will continue to frustrate, the designs of the ambitious, the selfish and the misguided men, whose success would bring this calamity upon us. The steady support which, amidst divisions and struggles about minor concerns, the *people* have given to our government, will save us from one of the defects of the former confederation.

"The last defect which seems worthy of enumeration is, that the confederation never had a ratification of the PEOPLE. Upon this objection, it will be sufficient to quote a single passage from the same celebrated work, as it affords a very striking commentary upon some extraordinary doctrines recently promulgated. "Resting on no better foundation than the consent of the state legislatures, it (the confederation) has been exposed to frequent and intricate questions concerning the validity of its powers; and has, in some instances, given birth to the enormous doctrine of a right of legislative repeal. Owing its ratification to a law of a state, it has been contended, that the same authority might repeal the law, by which it was ratified. However gross a heresy it may be to maintain, that a party to a compact has a right to revoke that compact, the doctrine itself has had respectable advocates. The possibility of a question of this nature proves the necessity of laying the foundations of our national government deeper, than in the mere sanction of delegated authority. The fabric of American empire ought to rest on the solid basis of the CONSENT OF THE PEOPLE. The streams of national power ought to flow immediately from that pure, original fountain of all legitimate authority."

The third book of the Commentaries commences with "the origin and adoption of the Constitution." From the letter addressed by the convention, after they had completed their labours, we give an extract which cannot be too often brought to the mind of the American people, to allay the fretful feelings and discontents which are occasionally excited by some real or fancied injury.

"It is obviously impracticable (says the address) in the federal government of these states, to secure all rights of independent sovereignty to each, and yet provide for the interest and safety of all. Individuals, entering into society, must give up a share of liberty to preserve the rest. The magnitude of the sacrifice must depend, as well on situation and circumstance, as on the object

to be obtained. It is at all times difficult to draw with precision the line between those rights, which must be surrendered, and those, which may be reserved; and on the present occasion this difficulty was increased by a difference among the several states, as to their situation, extent, habits, and particular interests. In all our deliberations on this subject, we kept steadily in our view that which appears to us the greatest interest of every true American, *the consolidation of our Union*, in which is involved our prosperity, felicity, safety, perhaps our national existence. This important consideration, seriously and deeply impressed on our minds, led each state in the convention to be less rigid on points of inferior magnitude, than might have been otherwise expected. And thus *the Constitution*, which we now present, is *the result of a spirit of amity, and of that mutual deference and concession*, which the peculiarity of our political situation rendered indispensable."

The Judge concludes his account of the adoption of the Constitution, by an eloquent expression of sentiments, which will be fervently responded by every American heart.

"Thus was achieved another, and still more glorious triumph in the cause of national liberty, than even that, which separated us from the mother country. By it we fondly trust, that our republican institutions will grow up, and be nurtured into more mature strength and vigour; our independence be secured against foreign usurpation and aggression; our domestic blessings be widely diffused, and generally felt: and our union, as a people, be perpetuated, as our own truest glory and support, and as a proud example of a wise and beneficent government, entitled to the respect, if not to the admiration of mankind."

In the 2d chapter of the 3d book, the Judge treats of the "Objections to the Constitution." We remember the unsparing violence with which they were urged, in the shape of pamphlets, speeches and interminable essays from the daily press, in which the fears, the jealousies, and all the bad passions of the people were addressed and inflamed, to rouse them to reject the proposed government. Nothing could have saved us but the high character, the tried patriotism, the talents and indefatigable labour of its friends in explaining the true principles of the Constitution, and exposing and refuting the calumnies by which it was assailed. Even these might have failed of success against the artful delusions and bold misrepresentations of its enemies, if the deplorable condition of our affairs, public bankruptcy and private ruin, which met the eye in every direction, had not, feelingly and to the senses of the most dull and obstinate, shown the necessity of some change, of some government, for we had none, to avert the doom which hung over us. "The history of those times," says our author, "is full of instruction on this subject, at once to admonish us of past dangers, and to awaken us to a lively sense of the necessity of future vigilance."

This chapter will be found particularly interesting to our younger readers, who have seen our government only in its successful and vigorous operation, infusing health and strength into every portion of our country; and who did not witness the fearful and doubtful struggles through which it was brought into exist-

ence. They will hardly credit the assertion of the Judge, although it is strictly true, that, "the wonder indeed is not, under such circumstances, that the Constitution should have encountered the most ardent opposition, but that it should ever have been adopted by a majority of the states." The great contest was then, as it is now, and will probably continue, "between those who adhere to the state governments, and those who adhere to the national government, in respect to principles and policy."

In the 3d chapter of this book, the author comes to the consideration of the "Nature of the Constitution;" whether it is "a treaty, a convention, a league, a contract, or a compact? Who are the parties to it? By whom it was made? By whom it was ratified? What are its obligations? By whom and in what manner it may be dissolved? Who are to determine its validity and construction? Who are to decide upon the supposed infractions and violations of it?" It will be seen, at once, that these inquiries cover the whole body of the Constitution, and enter into all the principles upon which its vitality depends. They are "matters of practical importance, and of earnest and vehement debate." The Judge says, "The answers given to them by statesmen and jurists, are often contradictory and irreconcilable with each other; and the consequences deduced from the views taken of some of them, go very deep into the foundations of the government itself, and expose it, if not to utter destruction, at least to evils which threaten its existence and disturb the just operation of its powers." It will not be expected that we shall do more than to give our readers a glance at the views taken of the Constitution in relation to these questions. They are fully examined in the Commentaries, and the leading doctrines advanced concerning them are stated with clearness and candour. We confess that we are not impressed with the practical importance of the first inquiry, although a vast deal has been written and spoken about it; that is, whether the Constitution is a treaty, a convention, a contract, or a compact? There it is, set out at large, expressed in language as explicit as could be used, and it is from the instrument itself that its true nature and import must be ascertained and decided. We cannot see how this inquiry will be enlightened by the name we may choose to bestow upon the Constitution. If we call it a league, will its provisions, stipulations and obligations upon the parties be, in any respect, different from those which are created and established by it, if it be called a contract or a compact? If we were inquiring into the character and nature of a lost or imperfect instrument, some inference or argument might be deduced from the name attached to it, as descriptive of its character; but when we have the thing itself, and the whole thing; where every article, provision, obligation and reservation is fairly and fully written out, can any of them be enlarged or impaired, by calling the instrument by one



name or another? On this question of considering the Constitution as a compact, we will quote our author's observation, although it will be seen that it does not coincide with our opinion of its insignificance:

"The obvious deductions, which may be, and indeed have been, drawn from considering the Constitution as a compact between the states, are, that it operates as a mere treaty, or convention between them, and has an obligatory force upon each state no longer than suits its pleasure, or its consent continues; that each state has a right to judge for itself in relation to the nature, extent, and obligations of the instrument, without being at all bound by the interpretation of the federal government, or by that of any other state; and that each retains the power to withdraw from the confederacy and to dissolve the connexion, when such shall be its choice; and may suspend the operations of the federal government, and nullify its acts within its own territorial limits, whenever, in its own opinion, the exigency of the case may require. These conclusions may not always be avowed; but they flow naturally from the doctrines which we have under consideration. They go to the extent of reducing the government to a mere confederacy during pleasure; and of thus presenting the extraordinary spectacle of a nation existing only at the will of each of its constituent parts."

The answer of the Judge to these deductions fully exposes their fallacy and danger.

We think that the paragraph in which our author alleges and proves that the word "compact," is susceptible of different shades of meaning, and may be used in different senses, strongly fortifies our suggestion of the inutility of referring to the name of the instrument for its nature and character; for surely, a name which is susceptible of different meanings, and is used in different senses, can be no guide in such a case.

We make a short extract explanatory of our author's opinion of our state constitutions:

"The true view to be taken of our state constitutions is, that they are forms of government, ordained and established by the people in their original sovereign capacity, to promote their own happiness, and permanently to secure their rights, property, independence, and common welfare. The language of nearly all these state constitutions is, that the people do ordain and establish this constitution; and where these terms are not expressly used, they are necessarily implied in the very substance of the frame of government. They may be deemed compacts, (though not generally declared so on their face), in the sense of their being founded on the voluntary consent or agreement of a majority of the qualified voters of the state. But they are not treated as contracts and conventions between independent individuals and communities, having no common umpire. The language of these instruments is not the usual or appropriate language for mere matters resting, and forever to rest, in contract. In general the import is, that the people 'ordain and establish,' that is, in their sovereign capacity, meet and declare what shall be the fundamental LAW for the government of themselves and their posterity. Even in the constitution of Massachusetts, which, more than any other, wears the air of contract, the compact is declared to be a 'mere constitution of civil government,' and the people 'do agree on, ordain, and establish the following declaration of rights, and frame of government, as the constitution of government.' In this very bill of rights, the people are declared 'to have

the sole and exclusive right of governing themselves, as a free, sovereign and independent state; and that 'they have an incontestible, unalienable, and indefeasible right to institute government, and to reform, alter, or totally change the same, when their protection, safety, prosperity, and happiness require it.' It is, and accordingly has always been, treated as a fundamental law, and not as a mere contract of government, during the good pleasure of all the persons who were originally bound by it, or assented to it."

He goes on—"A constitution is in fact a *fundamental law* or *basis of government*, and falls strictly within the definition of law." It derives its "ultimate obligatory force as a *law*, and not as a *compact*." He proceeds—

"And it is in this light that the language of the Constitution of the United States manifestly contemplates it; for it declares (article 6th), that this Constitution, and the laws, &c. and treaties made under the authority of the United States, 'shall be the supreme LAW of the land.' This (as has been justly observed by the Federalist) results from the very nature of political institutions. A law, by the very meaning of the terms, includes supremacy. If individuals enter into a state of society, the laws of that society must be the supreme regulator of their conduct. If a number of political societies enter into a larger political society, the laws which the latter may enact, pursuant to the powers entrusted to it by its constitution, must be supreme over those societies, and the individuals of whom they are composed. It would otherwise be a mere treaty, dependant on the good faith of the parties, and not a *government*, which is only another word for political power and supremacy."

From a careful discussion of this subject, the Judge comes to this conclusion,

"That a state constitution is no farther to be deemed a compact, than that it is a matter of consent by the people, binding them to obedience to its requisitions; and that its proper character is that of a fundamental law, prescribed by the will of the majority of the people of the state, (who are entitled to prescribe it), for the government and regulation of the whole people. It binds them, as a supreme compact, ordained by the sovereign power, and not merely as a voluntary contract, entered into by parties capable of contracting, and binding themselves by such terms as they choose to select."

These introductory explanations bring our author to the question—

"In what light, then, is the Constitution of the United States to be regarded? Is it a mere compact, treaty, or confederation of the states composing the Union, or of the people thereof, whereby each of the several states, and the people thereof, have respectively bound themselves to each other? Or is it a form of government, which, having been ratified by a majority of the people in all the states, is obligatory upon them, as the prescribed rule of conduct of the sovereign power, to the extent of its provisions?"

Having stated the meaning he attaches to the word compact in this interrogatory, he says—"There is no where found upon the face of the Constitution any clause intimating it to be a compact, or in any wise providing for its interpretation as such. On the contrary, the preamble emphatically speaks of it as a solemn ordinance and establishment of a government. 'We, the people of

the United States, do *ordain* and *establish* this Constitution for the United States of America.' The people do *ordain* and *establish*, not contract and stipulate with each other. The people of the *United States*, not the distinct people of a *particular* state, with the people of the other states." We can see no error in the allegation, that "the constitution of a confederated republic, that is, of a national republic formed of several states, is, or at least may be, not less an irrevocable form of government, than the constitution of a state formed and ratified by the several counties of a state."

The reasoning of the Judge to maintain his doctrines, appears to us to be abundantly sufficient. He refers to the old articles of confederation to show that the United States were no strangers to compacts of that nature, and how far they differed from a constitution; and remarks that those articles, "though in some few respects national, were mainly of a pure federative character, and yet it was deemed a political heresy to maintain that, under it, any state had a right to withdraw from it at pleasure, and repeal its operation; and that a party to the compact had a right to revoke that compact." To strengthen himself on this point, our author makes a quotation from the letter of the convention who framed the Constitution, and which accompanied it.

"It is obviously impracticable in the federal government of these states,' says that letter, 'to secure all rights of independent sovereignty to each, and yet provide for the interest and safety of all. Individuals entering into society must give up a share of liberty to preserve the rest.' 'In all our deliberations on this subject, we kept steadily in our view that, which appeared to us the greatest interest of every true American, the *consolidation of our Union*, in which is involved our prosperity, felicity, safety, perhaps our national existence.'"

Which the Judge follows with this pertinent question—"Could this be attained, consistently with the notion of an existing treaty or confederation, which each at its pleasure was at liberty to dissolve." A striking confirmation of the doctrines of the Commentaries upon this point is found in the following observations:

"Although many declarations of rights, many propositions of amendments, and many protestations of reserved powers are to be found accompanying the ratifications of the various conventions, sufficiently evincive of the extreme caution and jealousy of those bodies, and of the people at large, it is remarkable, that there is no where to be found the slightest allusion to the instrument, as a confederation or compact of states in their sovereign capacity, and no reservation of any right, on the part of any state, to dissolve its connexion, or to abrogate its assent, or to suspend the operations of the Constitution, as to itself. On the contrary, that of Virginia, which speaks most pointedly to the topic, merely declares, 'that the powers granted under the Constitution, *being derived from the people of the United States*, may be resumed by *them* [not by any one of the states] whenever the same shall be perverted to their injury or oppression.'"

A strong argument is also drawn from the form of the acts of



ratification by the states, of the articles of confederation, so different from those of our present Constitution.

“The said states hereby severally enter into a firm *league* of friendship with each other for their common defence, &c. binding themselves to assist each other.’ And the ratification was by delegates of the state legislatures, who solemnly plighted and engaged the *faith* of their respective constituents, that they should abide by the determination of the United States in Congress assembled on all questions, which, by the said confederation, are submitted to them; and that the articles thereof should be inviolably observed by the states they respectively represented.”

“Nor should it be omitted, that in the most elaborate expositions of the Constitution by its friends, its character, as a permanent form of government, as a fundamental law, as a supreme rule, which no state was at liberty to disregard, suspend, or annul, was constantly admitted, and insisted on, as one of the strongest reasons, why it should be adopted in lieu of the confederation.”

We should have great pleasure in going along with the Judge through his argument on this question of compact, including the right of secession, but we must leave it to attend to other important matters. We cannot, however, forbear to give our readers a quotation from Mr. Madison’s letter of October, 1830. He held the opinion that the Constitution was a compact among the people of the several states. “Let us see,” says Judge Story, “what that enlightened statesman, who vindicates that opinion, holds as the appropriate deduction from it.”

“Being thus derived (says he) from the same source as the constitutions of the states, it has, within each state, the same authority as the constitution of the state; and is as much a constitution within the strict sense of the term, within its prescribed sphere, as the constitutions of the states are, within their respective spheres. But with this obvious and essential difference, that being a compact among the states in their highest sovereign capacity, and *constituting the people thereof one people for certain purposes*, it cannot be altered or annulled at the will of the states individually, as the constitution of a state may be at its individual will.”

Mr. Justice Patterson, a great name, denies the right of any state, unless by consent of the whole, either in politics or law, to withdraw their powers.

Our author, in conclusion of his elaborate argument of this question, says,

“In short, the difficulties attendant upon all the various theories under consideration, which treat the Constitution of the United States as a compact, either between the several states, or between the people of the several states, or between the whole people of the United States, and the people of the several states, or between each citizen of all the states, and all other citizens, are, if not absolutely insuperable, so serious, and so wholly founded upon mere implication, that it is matter of surprise that they should have been so extensively adopted, and so zealously propagated. These theories, too, seem mainly urged with a view to draw conclusions, which are at war with the known powers and reasonable objects of the Constitution; and which, if successful, would reduce the government to a mere confederation. They are objectionable, then, in every way; first, because they are not justified by the

language of the Constitution ; secondly, because they have a tendency to impair, and indeed to destroy, its express powers and objects ; and thirdly, because they involve consequences, which at the will of a single state, may overthrow the Constitution itself. One of the fundamental rules in the exposition of every instrument is, so to construe its terms, if possible, as not to make them the source of their own destruction, or to make them utterly void and nugatory. And if this be generally true, with how much more force does the rule apply to a constitution of government, framed for the general good, and designed for perpetuity ? Surely, if any implications are to be made beyond its terms, they are implications to preserve, and not to destroy it."

And he truly states the use which his opponents on this question would make of it.

"The cardinal conclusion, for which this doctrine of a compact has been, with so much ingenuity and ability, forced into the language of the Constitution, (for the language no where alludes to it,) is avowedly to establish, that in construing the Constitution, there is no common umpire ; but that each state, nay each department of the government of each state, is the supreme judge for itself, of the powers, and rights, and duties, arising under that instrument."

This conclusion the Judge denies to be just, even if the premises are true.

"But if it were admitted, that the Constitution is a compact, the conclusion, that there is no common arbiter, would neither be a necessary, nor natural conclusion from that fact standing alone. To decide upon the point, it would still behove us to examine the very terms of the Constitution, and the delegation of powers under it. It would be perfectly competent even for confederated states to agree upon, and delegate authority to construe the compact to a common arbiter. The people of the United States had an unquestionable right to confide this power to the government of the United States, or to any department thereof, if they chose so to do. The question is, whether they have done it. If they have, it becomes obligatory and binding upon all the states."

We may be allowed to remark, that our author seems here to fall into our opinion of the insignificance of the name by which our Constitution may be designated, as its powers and obligations must be decided by the terms of the instrument.

"WHO IS THE FINAL JUDGE OR INTERPRETER IN CONSTITUTIONAL CONTROVERSIES?"—is the all-important head of the *fourth chapter*. Before our author enters upon the inquiry, "whether the Constitution has made any provision for any common arbiter to construe its powers and obligations?" and "in order to clear the question of all minor points which might embarrass us in the discussion," he suggests a few preliminary remarks, which we transcribe.

"The Constitution, contemplating the grant of limited powers, and distributing them among various functionaries ; and the state governments, and their functionaries, being also clothed with limited powers, subordinate to those granted to the general government, whenever any question arises, as to the exercise of any power by any of these functionaries under the state, or federal government, it is of necessity that such functionaries must, in the first instance, decide upon the constitutionality of the exercise of such power. It

may arise in the course of the discharge of the functions of any one, or of all, of the great departments of government, the executive, the legislative, and the judicial. The officers of each of these departments are equally bound by their oaths of office to support the Constitution of the United States, and are therefore conscientiously bound to abstain from all acts which are inconsistent with it. Whenever, therefore, they are required to act in a case, not hitherto settled by any proper authority, these functionaries must, in the first instance, decide, each for himself, whether, consistently with the Constitution, the act can be done. If, for instance, the president is required to do any act, he is not only authorized, but required, to decide for himself, whether, consistently with his constitutional duties, he can do the act. So, if a proposition be before Congress, every member of the legislative body is bound to examine and decide for himself, whether the bill or resolution is within the constitutional reach of the legislative powers confided to Congress. And in many cases the decisions of the executive and legislative departments, thus made, become final and conclusive, being from their very nature and character incapable of revision. Thus, in measures exclusively of a political, legislative, or executive character, it is plain, that as the supreme authority, as to these questions, belongs to the legislative and executive departments, they cannot be re-examined elsewhere. Thus, Congress having the power to declare war, to levy taxes, to appropriate money, to regulate intercourse and commerce with foreign nations, their mode of executing these powers can never become the subject of re-examination in any other tribunal. So the power to make treaties being confided to the president and senate, when a treaty is properly ratified, it becomes the law of the land, and no other tribunal can gainsay its stipulations. Yet cases may readily be imagined, in which a tax may be laid, or a treaty made, upon motives and grounds wholly beside the intention of the Constitution. The remedy, however, in such cases, is solely by an appeal to the people at the elections; or by the salutary power of amendment, provided by the Constitution itself.

But, where the question is of a different nature, and capable of judicial inquiry and decision, there it admits of a very different consideration. The decision then made, whether in favour or against the constitutionality of the act, by the state, or by the national authority, by the legislature, or by the executive, being capable, in its own nature, of being brought to the test of the Constitution, is subject to judicial revision. It is in such cases, as we conceive, that there is a final and common arbiter provided by the Constitution itself, to whose decisions all others are subordinate; and that arbiter is the supreme judicial authority of the courts of the Union."

The distinctions here marked by the Judge must be kept in view, and we must not confound, in a general proposition, the cases in which any department of the government must necessarily act finally and conclusively, with those in which the question admits of a judicial inquiry and decision. To say, with Mr. Jefferson, that "each department of the government is truly independent of the others, and has an equal right to decide for itself what is the meaning of the Constitution," would manifestly introduce such a clashing of constructions, such a chaos of incongruous opinions and principles, that there would be, in a short time, no Constitution at all; no *supreme law*, by which the citizens at large, and particularly those intrusted with the administration of the government, would know how to regulate themselves. The supreme law would be one thing to-day, and another to-morrow; one thing in



Congress, and another in the state legislature; one thing in the department of state, another in the treasury, the war department, and so on. So it would differ in the courts of the United States and the state courts, if there be no constitutional, common arbiter, whose decree should be the supreme law, paramount to every other. On the other hand, it is obvious that there are cases, and important ones, in which the departments may severally act "ultimately and without appeal." Mr. Madison is far from adopting Mr. Jefferson's doctrine, but suggests, "that there may be infractions of the Constitution, *not within the reach of the judicial power*, or capable of remedial redress through the instrumentality of the courts of law;" thus admitting that, except in such cases, the judicial power is to administer the remedial redress.

The Judge proceeds to show, and we cannot imagine a doubt of it, that the judicial power is the common arbiter to decide all controverted, constitutional questions; all questions of construction of the Constitution, in the same manner as they have the power to decide the meaning and construction of any other law. What can be broader or clearer than the grant of this power to the judiciary. "The judicial power shall extend to *all cases*, in law or equity, arising *under this Constitution*, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, and which shall be made, under their authority." The Judge truly says, "Nothing is imperfect, and nothing left to implication. The Constitution is the supreme law; the judicial power extends to all cases in law or equity under it. No man can doubt that the power to construe the Constitution is a judicial power." As the judicial power is vested in the courts of the United States, the consequence cannot be avoided that these courts have the power to decide cases arising under the Constitution, and, of course, to decide what the Constitution is, that is, to construe it authoritatively, whenever the meaning shall be a subject of dispute.

Our author considers and refutes the objections to this doctrine, and the limitations that some have attempted to put round the judicial power, such as, that although the decisions of the court may be binding upon the other departments of the government, they are not so in relation to the rights of the parties to the compact. This is a subtlety or absurdity which he easily dissipates, showing that it would be much more dangerous to give this power of construing the Constitution of the United States to the tribunals of the different states, than to the courts of the United States. But if the states, or parties to the compact, have granted this power to the judiciary of the United States, as is manifest from the express words of the grant, there ought to be an end of the question, and of all hypothesis about it. We have cited the clause in the Constitution which gives this power to the federal judiciary; where is the clause, or word, or intimation, however remote, which gives or reserves it to each state, or the parties to the

compact, as they are called. The Judge clearly shows that a contrary doctrine "would deliver over the Constitution to interminable doubts, founded upon the fluctuating opinions and character of those who should, from time to time, be called to administer it. Such a Constitution could, in as just sense, be deemed a law, much less a supreme law. It would have none of the certainty or universality which are the attributes of such a sovereign rule."

Having established the right of the courts of the United States to construe the Constitution, he treats, in his 5th chapter, of the "Rules of Interpretation,"—which he sets out in detail, and supports them by a chain of legal reasoning and authority, for which we must refer our readers to the Commentaries.

In the 6th chapter, he arrives at his "Commentary upon the Actual Provisions of the Constitution ; proposing to take the successive clauses in the order in which they stand in the instrument." He begins with the PREAMBLE. It is well known that this Preamble has been the subject of inexhaustible theories and arguments, in relation not only to the powers of the general government, but to the sources whence they were derived. "We the people," and the "general welfare," have furnished volumes of ingenious discussions, as if the "actual provisions" of the Constitution were altogether subordinate to this preliminary declaration of its general objects. We repeat our opinion of the insignificance of the question respecting the source of the powers confided to the federal government, whether from the aggregate people of the United States, or by them acting by their respective states, and shall add nothing to this opinion.

Referring to the use that is constantly made of the preamble in expounding the language of a statute, the Judge observes that "there does not seem to be any reason why, in a fundamental law or constitution of government, an equal attention should not be given to the intention of the framers, as stated in the preamble." Nothing can be more reasonable or consonant with the practice of jurists, but such a resort to a preamble should be confined, as he does confine it, to cases "where doubts and ambiguities arise upon the words of the enacting clause, for if they are clear and unambiguous, there seems little room for interpretation." We would add that if the enacting part be in a direct and unavoidable collision with the preamble, so that the one or the other must be overthrown, the preamble must fall. We also agree entirely with him, that the preamble can "never be resorted to, to enlarge the powers confided to the general government, or any of its departments. It cannot confer any power *per se*; it can never amount, by implication, to an enlargement of any power expressly given"—but it may expound "the nature, extent and application of the powers actually conferred by the Constitution."

The reasoning, references and history of the Constitution, with  
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a critical examination of the language of the Preamble, embraced in this chapter, are highly interesting and instructive. They would, of themselves, be a fruitful subject for a review, but we must leave them to the reader's own reflections and study. In concluding this able exposition of the general objects and powers of the federal government, the Judge makes an impressive appeal to our experience of the beneficial effects which have flowed from them.

"Hitherto our experience has demonstrated the entire safety of the states, under the benign operations of the Constitution. Each of the states has grown in power, in vigour of operation, in commanding influence, in wealth, revenue, population, commerce, agriculture, and general efficiency. No man will venture to affirm, that their power, relative to that of the Union, has been diminished, although our population has, in the intermediate period, passed from three to more than twelve millions. No man will pretend to say, that the affections for the state governments has been sensibly diminished by the operations of the general government. If the latter has become more deeply an object of regard and reverence, of attachment and pride, it is, because it is felt to be the parental guardian of our public and private rights, and the natural ally of all the state governments, in the administration of justice, and the promotion of the general prosperity. It is beloved, not for its power, but for its beneficence; not because it commands, but because it protects; not because it controls, but because it sustains the common interests, and the common liberties, and the common rights of the people."

The second volume of the "Commentaries," opens with a chapter on the "*Distribution of Powers*." The author says: "In absolute governments, the whole executive, legislative and judicial powers are, *at least in the final result*, exclusively confined to a single individual; such a government is denominated a despotism." Is this the government of the United States, in theory or in fact; in the first exercise of its power, or "in the final result?"

The first resolution adopted by the convention which framed the Constitution was that "a national government ought to be established, consisting of a supreme legislative and judiciary;" and, says our author, "from this fundamental proposition sprung the subsequent organization of the whole government of the United States." It has always, as he remarks, been deemed a maxim of vital importance, by patriots and statesmen, that these powers should *forever be kept separate and distinct*. Even Blackstone, the subject of a monarchy, says that, "In all tyrannical governments, the supreme magistracy, or the right of both making and executing laws, is vested in the same man, or one and the same body of men; and whenever these two powers are united, there can be no public liberty." The Federalist adopts a similar definition of tyranny; and it is most true, that "experience has demonstrated this maxim to be founded in a just view of the nature of government, and the safety and liberty of the people." Our Constitution has placed, or most indisputably *intended to place*, the legislative, executive and judicial powers in different



hands; and if either of them should assume the powers of another, it would be a direct violation of the Constitution, and a daring and dangerous usurpation of authority. If the legislature should delegate a power to one department, and another should take it upon itself, the law is violated, and the Constitution through the law.

To understand fully this separation of the powers and departments of our government, it is necessary to attend to our author's explanation of them:

"But when we speak of a separation of the three great departments of government, and maintain, that that separation is indispensable to public liberty, we are to understand this maxim in a limited sense. It is not meant to affirm, that they must be kept wholly and entirely separate and distinct, and have no common link of connexion or dependence, the one upon the other, in the slightest degree. The true meaning is, that the whole power of one of these departments should not be exercised by the same hands which possess the whole power of either of the other departments; and that such exercise of the whole would subvert the principles of a free constitution. This has been shown with great clearness and accuracy by the authors of the *Federalist*."

This subject of the separation of power is treated with much research and ability; and we observed, in the course of the observations, a remark which we hope will be found practically, as it is theoretically, true in the administration of the government of the United States. He says, "the truth is, that the legislative power is the great and overruling power in every free government." And we further hope that the Judge may prove to be correct in the following opinions; we mean, correct in the administration, as he undoubtedly is in the principles, of our Constitution :

"There are many reasons, which may be assigned for the engrossing influence of the legislative department. In the first place, its constitutional powers are more extensive, and less capable of being brought within precise limits, than those of either of the other departments. The bounds of the executive authority are easily marked out and defined. It reaches few objects, and those are known. It cannot transcend them, without being brought in contact with the other departments. Laws may check, and restrain, and bound its exercise."

The 8th chapter treats of the "Legislature," and the division of the power between two branches is considered and defended. It may now be taken to be a settled question, notwithstanding the opinions of some eminent men in favour of a single branch. The whole argument on the subject will be found in this chapter.

The next takes up the House of Representatives as it is constructed by our Constitution, and explains the principles of the election of its members; their qualifications; term of service, &c. In this chapter, the delicate and difficult question of the "Slave Representation" is examined, and the reasons, pro and con, fairly stated. Certainly this is now a settled question, and cannot be disturbed, more than any other part or provision of the Constitu-

tion, without tearing up the whole; and if the question were now open, we do not see how it could be better settled, unless we are willing to sacrifice to it the Constitution and the union of the states. We would pay no such price for it. The arrangement agreed upon, after infinite difficulties, by the framers of the Constitution was, in truth, as the Judge observes, "a matter of compromise, confessedly unequal in its operation, but a necessary sacrifice to that spirit of conciliation, which was indispensable to the union of states having a great diversity of interests and physical condition, and political institutions;" and we fully accord with him in the sentiment that,

"Viewed in its proper light, as a real compromise, in a case of conflicting interests, for the common good, the provision is entitled to great praise for its moderation, its aim at practical utility, and its tendency to satisfy the people, that the Union, framed by all, ought to be dear to all, by the privileges it confers, as well as the blessings it secures."

We also heartily concur with him in the observation, that "he who wishes well to his country, will steadily adhere to it, as a fundamental policy, which extinguishes some of the most mischievous sources of all political division; those founded on geographical portions and domestic institutions."

The organization and powers of the Senate are the subject of the 10th chapter; in which the mode of their appointments, their qualifications and terms of service, their numbers, are discussed; and the value of this branch of the legislature in our domestic, and even more in foreign affairs, fully illustrated. Objections are stated with candour, and answered by sound reasoning and, still more conclusively, by the test of experience; for, says the author, "Time, which dissolves the frail fabric of men's opinions, serves but to confirm the judgments of nature." In relation to the term of service, the Judge thinks the Constitution has given the proper period:

"Considering, then, the various functions of the Senate, the qualifications of skill, experience, and information, which are required to discharge them, and the importance of interposing, not a nominal, but a real check, in order to guard the states from usurpations upon their authority, and the people from becoming the victims of violent paroxysms in legislation; the term of six years would seem to hit the just medium between a duration of office, which would too much resist, and a like duration, which would too much invite those changes of policy, foreign and domestic, which the best interests of the country may require to be deliberately weighed, and gradually introduced. If the state governments are found tranquil, and prosperous, and safe, with a Senate of two, three, four, and five years' duration, it would seem impossible for the Union to be in danger from a term of service of six years."

The erection of the Senate into a judicial tribunal for the trial of impeachments is considered with great care, and this provision of the Constitution well maintained from the objections that have been urged against it. We have not space to present the argument

to our readers, and it is the less necessary, as the objections are no longer heard of, but, with many others that appeared so formidable in the beginning, have melted away under the influence of time and experience. "At the distance of forty years," says the Judge, "the Senate has been found a safe and effective depository for the trial of impeachments."

In this part of the "Commentaries," the author inquires, with his usual learning and accuracy, "who are the persons liable to be impeached; and what are impeachable offences?" These are important questions, and the reader will find them thoroughly examined in this work.

The chapter on the "Election and Meetings of Congress," we pass without comment. So of the "Privileges of Congress," which is a very important portion of the labours of the commentator, especially that part which treats of the power to arrest and punish for contempts; which, it is admitted, is not expressly given by the Constitution, but, "it is obvious that unless such a power exists, to some extent, by implication, it is utterly impossible for either house to perform its constitutional functions." He tells us that

"This subject has of late undergone a great deal of discussion, both in England and America; and has finally received the adjudication of the highest judicial tribunals in each country. In each country upon the fullest consideration the result was the same, viz. that the power did exist, and that the legislative body was the proper and exclusive forum to decide when the contempt existed, and when there was a breach of its privileges; and, that the power to punish followed, as a necessary incident to the power to take cognizance of the offence."

The 13th chapter takes up the "MODE OF PASSING LAWS; THE PRESIDENT'S NEGATIVE." Upon the first, we have no observations to make; but the second deserves a serious consideration; and some late occurrences in the administration of our government have brought this presidential power into views in which it had not before presented itself; and which, probably, were never anticipated.

"In the convention there does not seem to have been much diversity of opinion on the subject of the propriety of giving to the president a negative on the laws. The principal points of discussion seem to have been, whether the negative should be absolute, or qualified; and if the latter, by what number of each house the bill should be subsequently passed, in order to become a law; and whether the negative should in either case be exclusively vested in the president alone, or in him jointly with some other department of the government."

And truly these are important questions; and, more especially, by what number of each house the bill should be subsequently passed, in order to become a law. We confess our surprise to learn that in the convention it was at first carried, *unanimously*, in favour of two-thirds of each house; afterwards altered to three-fourths, and ultimately returned to the two-thirds. The power



of an absolute negative, like that enjoyed by the king of England, had the support of two states. We think the question now would be, not between two-thirds and three-fourths, but whether even the smaller number of the representatives of the people, chosen for the express purpose of legislation, should be required to control the will of the president alone, in the passing of a law; and whether some less powerful modification of this executive prerogative would not be more consistent with our republican institutions and the character of our people. Some writers have, of late, elaborately contended that the president has no right, in the true construction of the Constitution, to use his veto for any scruple or opinion he may entertain of the constitutionality of the act presented for his approval; but that such objections should be referred exclusively to the judiciary, and that, if the president has no other objection to the law, he should sign it, and leave that question to the court. We cannot concur in this opinion. We see no such restriction on the presidential veto, in the Constitution, nor any necessary or plausible implication by which it may be raised on any thing that is there. *Every bill*, which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it becomes a law, be presented to the President of the United States; *if he approve it, he shall sign it*; but if not, he shall return it, &c. There is no designation or limitation of the reasons which may induce the president to withhold his signature.

In treating of the negative, Judge Story properly rejects, as unsafe for a free government, the absolute veto, which Mr. Justice Blackstone, and others, thinks to be a "most important and indeed indispensable part of the *royal prerogative*, to guard against the usurpations of the legislative authority." This fear of legislative usurpations may be quite consistent with the principles of a monarchy, but assuredly not with those of a republican government. "Yet," adds our author,

"In point of fact this negative of the king has not been once exercised since the year 1692; a fact which can only be accounted for upon one of two suppositions, either that the influence of the crown has prevented the passage of objectionable measures, or that the exercise of the prerogative has become so odious, that it has not been deemed safe to exercise it, except upon the most pressing emergencies."

Within the period mentioned, we know that many bills were passed by parliament, highly disagreeable, nay offensive, to the king, but he did not venture to arrest them by his royal prerogative; he wanted the *energy* of a *republican king*. The Judge thinks that,

"As the house of commons becomes more and more the representative of the popular opinion, the crown will have less and less inducement to hazard its own influence by a rejection of any favourite measure of the people."

From the scope of his reasoning, it would seem that he con-

siders the executive privilege was given here, as in England, to restrain the legislative department from intruding upon the rights, and absorbing the powers, of the other departments of government; to be a means of protection for the executive; for, says he, "a mere parchment delineation of the boundaries of each is wholly insufficient for the protection of the *weaker branch, as the executive unquestionably is*; and hence arises the constitutional necessity of arming it with powers for its own defence." We should like to know what he now thinks of this pitiable weakness of the executive, calling for sympathy and protection; and whether protection be now most wanted *for* it or *against* it. The Judge has probably discovered that it has other means, not only of defence, but for aggression, far more effective than this qualified negative; and that there is no danger, at least for the present, that the executive will be "gradually stripped of all his authority." If the executive may control an act of the legislature, not only before it is passed into a law, but afterwards, he will be in no danger from legislative intrusions upon the department. We do not deny that our author has maintained the uses and policy of the power, *as given in the Constitution*, with great force, but we would remind him of the sentiment he has expressed so beautifully, that "Time, which dissolves the frail fabric of men's opinions, serves but to confirm the judgments of nature." He may now be convinced that it is not only against Congress that we should be guarded from "the enactment of *rash*, immature and improper laws, or the effects of faction, precipitancy, unconstitutional legislation and *temporary excitements*, as well as *political hostility*."

We sincerely wish that this negative were in truth what the Judge believes it to be, and it was intended to be, "in the nature of a rehearing, or a reconsideration, and involves nothing to provoke resentment or rouse pride." This depends in a great degree upon the personal character of the president; whether moderate or violent; discreet or rash; liable to be influenced by "temporary excitements and political hostility," or otherwise; with too much or too little energy; too fearful or too reckless of responsibility. He further believes that, "nothing but a gross abuse of the power, upon frivolous or party pretences, to secure a petty triumph, or to defeat a wholesome restraint, would bring it into contempt or odium; and then it would soon be followed by that remedial justice from the people, in the exercise of the right of election, which, first or last, will be found to follow with reproof, or cheer with applause, the acts of their rulers, where passion and prejudice have removed the temporary bandages which have blinded their judgment." We would willingly rely upon the Judge in this comforting speculation, and join with him in his confidence in this "remedial justice." We shall not want the

opportunity to try its efficacy. He thinks "there is no practical danger that this power would be much, if any, abused by the president;" and trusts, implicitly, to the "superior weight and influence of the legislative body in a free government," and in the hazard to the executive in a trial of strength with that body. We shall probably see the issue of this trial, which may not have the result the Judge takes for granted. After bestowing due applause upon the structure and organization of the several branches composing our legislature, the Judge concludes the subject with a gloomy reflection, which we cannot exclude from mingling with our brightest hopes—

"Yet, after all, the fabric may fall; for the work of man is perishable, and must for ever have inherent elements of decay. Nay, it must perish, if there be not that vital spirit in the people, which alone can nourish, sustain, and direct all its movements. It is in vain that statesmen shall form plans of government, in which the beauty and harmony of a republic shall be embodied in visible order, shall be built up on solid substructions, and adorned by every useful ornament, if the inhabitants suffer the silent power of time to dilapidate its walls, or crumble its massy supporters into dust; if the assaults from without are never resisted, and the rottenness and mining from within are never guarded against. Who can preserve the rights and liberties of the people, when they shall be abandoned by themselves?"

The 14th chapter enters upon the broad field of the "*Powers of Congress*," and the author thus introduces his subject:

"We have now arrived, in the course of our inquiries, at the eighth section of the first article of the Constitution, which contains an enumeration of the principal powers of legislation confided to Congress. A consideration of this most important subject will detain our attention for a considerable time; as well, because of the variety of topics which it embraces, as of the controversies and discussions to which it has given rise. It has been, in the past time, it is in the present time, and it will probably in all future time, continue to be the debateable ground of the Constitution, signalized, at once, by the victories and the defeats of the same parties. Here, the advocates of state rights and the friends of the Union will meet in hostile array. And here, those, who have lost power, will maintain long and arduous struggles to regain the public confidence, and those, who have secured power, will dispute every position which may be assumed for attack, either of their policy, or their principles. Nor ought it at all to surprise us, if that, which has been true in the political history of other nations, shall be true in regard to our own; that the opposing parties shall occasionally be found to maintain the same system, when in power, which they have obstinately resisted when out of power. Without supposing any insincerity or departure from principle in such cases, it will be easily imagined, that a very different course of reasoning will force itself on the minds of those who are responsible for the measures of government, from that which the ardour of opposition, and the jealousy of rivals, might well foster in those who may desire to defeat what they have no interest to approve."

Our readers will, at once, perceive the impossibility of our undertaking to follow the author over the various topics discussed by him in his examination of this part of the Constitution. The theories are numerous and the arguments interminable that have



been raised upon it. Every sentence and word has from the first action of the government, been the ground of "political controversy, and furnished abundant material for popular declamation and alarm." Judge Story conducts the inquiry with exemplary candour, and with the thorough investigation which his industry, patience and learning enabled him to bestow upon it. Our readers will peruse this chapter with deep attention, and whatever may be the conclusions to which they may come on the several questions discussed, whether in accordance with the opinion of the author or not, they will certainly understand the whole subject, and all that has been said on the one side or the other. Having shown the necessity of a general power of taxation with national government, and answered the objections to it, the Judge says:

"The triumph of the friends of the Constitution, in securing this great fundamental source of all real effective national sovereignty, was most signal; and it is the noblest monument of their wisdom, patriotism, and independence. Popular feelings, and popular prejudices, and local interests, and the pride of state authority, and the jealousy of state sovereignty, were all against them. Yet they were not dismayed; and by steadfast appeals to reason, to the calm sense of the people, and to the lessons of history, they subdued opposition, and won confidence. Without the possession of this power, the Constitution would have long since, like the confederation, have dwindled down to an empty pageant. It would have become an unreal mockery, deluding our hopes, and exciting our fears. It would have flitted before us for a moment with a pale and ineffectual light, and then have departed for ever to the land of shadows."

The right of Congress to appropriate the public revenue to promote manufactures, agriculture and internal improvements, comes within the view of the commentator in this chapter, and the reader will find a fair exposition of the contending doctrines.

In the succeeding chapter the "Power to Borrow Money and Regulate Commerce," is treated. The extent of the power to "regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several states, and with the Indian tribes," has received, as it deserved, a very careful attention. The Judge also states the reasons that this power to regulate commerce may be constitutionally applied to the protection of domestic industry. It involves the right to lay duties. He replies to the argument that duties cannot be laid with the motive, or for the object, of protecting manufactures. The motive in the exercise of a power can never form a constitutional objection to the exercise:

"Here, then, is a case of laying duties, an ordinary means used in executing the power to regulate commerce; how can it be deemed unconstitutional? If it be said, that the motive is not to collect revenue, what has that to do with the power? When an act is constitutional, as an exercise of a power, can it be unconstitutional from the motives with which it is passed? If it can, then the constitutionality of an act must depend, not upon the power, but upon the motives of the legislature. It will follow, as a consequence, that the same act passed by one legislature will be constitutional, and by another unconstitutional."

Referring to the opinions of the American statesmen on the subject, the Judge fully sustains his reasoning by authority:

"Passing by these considerations, let the practice of the government, and the doctrines maintained by those who have administered it, be deliberately examined; and they will be found to be in entire consistency with this reasoning. The very first Congress that ever sat under the Constitution, composed in a considerable degree of those who had framed, or assisted in the discussion of its provisions in the state conventions, deliberately adopted this view of the power. And what is most remarkable, upon a subject of deep interest and excitement, which at the time occasioned long and vehement debates, not a single syllable of doubt was breathed from any quarter against the constitutionality of protecting agriculture and manufactures by laying duties, although the intention to protect and encourage them was constantly avowed. Nay, it was contended to be a paramount duty, upon the faithful fulfilment of which the Constitution had been adopted, and the omission of which would be a political fraud, without a whisper of dissent from any side. It was demanded by the people from various parts of the Union; and was resisted by none. Yet, state jealousy was never more alive than at this period, and state interests never more actively mingled in the debates of Congress. The two great parties, which afterwards so much divided the country upon the question of a liberal and strict construction of the Constitution, were then distinctly formed, and proclaimed their opinions with firmness and freedom. If, therefore, there had been a point of doubt, on which to hang an argument, it cannot be questioned, but that it would have been brought into the array of opposition. Such a silence, under such circumstances, is most persuasive and convincing."

With the third volume, the author proceeds to the examination of the power of Congress over naturalization, bankruptcy, coinage, weights, &c.; and then comes upon its "*Incidental Powers*," claimed under the clause or grant "to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or office thereof." It is truly said that,

"Few powers of the government were at the time of the adoption of the Constitution assailed with more severe invective, and more declamatory intemperance, than this. And it has ever since been made a theme of constant attack, and extravagant jealousy. Yet it is difficult to perceive the grounds upon which it can be maintained, or the logic by which it can be reasoned out. It is only declaratory of a truth, which would have resulted by necessary and unavoidable implication from the very act of establishing the national government, and vesting it with certain powers."

The author justifies this view of the case by reasoning and authority; and, at the same time, takes care to guard this power from too liberal an extension.

The incorporation of a national bank is one of the incidental powers arising from the clause in the Constitution above quoted. However this power might have been once questionable, it is now fixed and established, if any thing under the Constitution can be so, and the construction of that instrument is not to be forever tossed to and fro with the political or party changes of the coun-

try. There is not a power or department in the government, legislative, judicial or executive, which has not, by the most solemn and repeated acts, touching life, liberty and property, recognized the constitutionality of the Bank of the United States, and it would be worse than lost labour to agitate the question now. The reasoning of Mr. Madison should put it at rest, even with those who, like Mr. Madison, originally denied it.

We cannot follow, even by an enumeration, the whole catalogue of incidental or implied powers, which are treated in the Commentaries. In like manner we do but refer to the prohibitions imposed on the states by the Constitution, which are explained on sound principles and by satisfactory illustrations.

Our author commences his 36th chapter, which contains an enumeration of the organization and powers of the executive department, thus—

“What is the best Constitution for the executive department, and what are the powers with which it should be entrusted, are problems among the most important, and probably the most difficult, to be satisfactorily solved, of all, which are involved in the theory of free governments. No man, who has ever studied the subject with profound attention, has risen from the labour without an increased and almost overwhelming sense of its intricate relations and perplexing doubts. No man, who has ever deeply read the human history, and especially the history of republics, but has been struck with the consciousness, how little has been hitherto done to establish a safe depository of power in any hands; and how often in the hands of one, or a few, or many, of an hereditary monarch, or an elective chief, the executive power has brought ruin upon the state, or sunk under the oppressive burthen of its own imbecility. Perhaps our own history, hitherto, does not establish, that we have wholly escaped all the dangers; and that here is not to be found, as has been the case in other nations, the vulnerable part of the republic.”

He proceeds in his examination of the organization of the executive department of our government, explaining the constitutional provisions concerning it, in all their important details. A deeper interest attends the succeeding chapter, on the “*Powers and Duties of the Executive.*”

Innumerable pages have been written, arising out of the recent events, about the executive power of our government. Doctrines have been broached, and boldly defended in the face of the people, which, if received and established, will essentially change the character of our Constitution; and this department, heretofore thought the weakest, will become not merely the strongest, but, for all practical purposes, the dominant power of the state. Are we now to discover that the undoubted intention and attempt of the framers of our Constitution to give precision and certainty to the several departments or depositories of power, have totally failed? Are we, at this day, left to theories, and hypotheses, and elaborate reasoning, made to suit parties and times, to ascertain what are the legitimate functions of these departments, in relation to each other? Can it be that in this republic the executive power is,



like the royal prerogative, an undefined, illimitable power, to be just what the will of the president may choose to make it? That it is more or less a giant or a pigmy, according to the temper of the president, and the boldness with which he may calculate on popular favour and support? Is it not a fixed and defined power? May one president be circumscribed within the narrowest limits of authority, and another range without hindrance, over the whole surface of our political institutions, and penetrate every limb and muscle of the body politic, directing every movement, paralyzing the refractory, and invigorating the submissive? In short, may the executive power spread itself over all our concerns, public and private, controlling all, and making itself the *supreme law of the land*? Assuredly not, or we are sunk and trodden under a despotism more sweeping in its course, more irresistible in its force, and more debasing in its influence, than that of Turkey or Russia. We have heard it said, in confirmation of such doctrines, that the "President is the head of the government." What then? Are we to be mystified by names and phrases, by tropes and figures, instead of looking to the Constitution to ascertain the extent of the powers granted to the executive? The president is the head of our government! How is he so? and if it be so, what can be inferred from it to enlarge his grant of authority? Because he is, or may be called, the head, does he therefore hold all the life and power of the government, and may he assume to direct the body and limbs, as the head of the natural body is supposed to do? This would, indeed, be to establish rights and principles by names. If he be the head of the government, this decides nothing as to his authority. The question remains, In what sense is he so? What are the constitutional powers of the head of our republic? Surely no sound man, who values his liberty at a farthing, will say that the executive power, as constituted by our Constitution, is, or was intended to be, the paramount power of the state? It cannot be questioned that "the legislative power is the great overruling power in every free government," and not the executive, which has always been the most dangerous, the most feared, and the most strictly guarded and restrained. It is from that quarter only that liberty has any thing to dread. "*The king wills it*," has lost its magic in Europe; let it not be tolerated here. If the people should acquiesce in it, when the presidentship may happen to be in the hands of a favourite, it will "grow into a precedent," and they will be unable, unless by violence, to wrest it from a successor in whom they shall not have the same confidence.

- We return to the "Commentaries," for a better view of this executive power; and we shall see that the wise and patriotic men, to whom we are indebted for our truly republican Constitution, have not left us at the mercy or discretion of the "head of

the government," nor put at his feet all the liberties of the people, and all the powers of the government. After quoting the first clause of the second section of the Constitution, our author proceeds :

"The command and application of the public force, to execute the laws, to maintain peace, and to resist foreign invasion, are powers so obviously of an executive nature, and require the exercise of qualities so peculiarly adapted to this department, that a well-organized government can scarcely exist, when they are taken away from it."

On the subject of the power of the president to make treaties, with the advice and consent of the Senate, we have an historical fact, which may not be known to many of our readers.

"Some doubts appear to have been entertained in the early stages of the government, as to the correct exposition of the Constitution in regard to the agency of the Senate in the formation of treaties. The question was, whether the agency of the Senate was admissible previous to the negotiation, so as to advise on the instructions to be given to the ministers ; or was limited to the exercise of the power of advice and consent, after the treaty was formed ; or whether the president possessed an option to adopt one mode, or the other, as his judgment might direct. The practical exposition assumed on the first occasion, which seems to have occurred in President Washington's administration, was, that the option belonged to the executive to adopt either mode, and the Senate might advise before, as well as after, the formation of a treaty. Since that period, the Senate have been rarely, if ever, consulted, until after a treaty has been completed, and laid before them for ratification."

The section of the Commentaries on the power of the president to appoint to office, will be read with peculiar attention and interest. The Judge thinks, and we agree with him, that "one man of discernment is better fitted to analyze and estimate the peculiar qualities adapted to particular offices, than any body of men of equal, or even superior discernment." We cannot say, however, that our experience will warrant the Judge in what follows.

"His sole and undivided responsibility will naturally beget a livelier sense of duty, and a more exact regard to reputation. He will inquire with more earnestness, and decide with more impartiality. He will have fewer personal attachments to gratify than a body of men ; and will be less liable to be misled by his private friendships and affections."

Nor can we feel assured of the security against an abuse of this power, because, "at all events, his (the president's) conduct will be more open to scrutiny and less liable to be misunderstood ;" nor that, "if he ventures upon a system of favouritism, he will not escape censure, and can scarcely avoid detection and disgrace." Notwithstanding our *warranted* doubts upon these points, we would not hesitate to give the appointments to office to the executive magistrate, *under the control of the Senate*, to vesting it in a public body, so numerous and changing that no responsibility can be found any where for any abuse of it. To be sure our author, as a part of the case on which his opinion is founded, says, "A president chosen from the nation at large may well be presumed

to possess high intelligence, integrity, and sense of character," but it is possible we may not always have such a one, and we have no security for it in or out of the Constitution. He adds,

"It should never be forgotten, (has it never been forgotten?) that in a republican government offices are established, and are to be filled, not to gratify private interests and private attachments; not as a means of corrupt influence, or individual profit; not for cringing favourites, or court sycophants; but for purposes of the highest public good; to give dignity, strength, purity, and energy to the administration of the laws."

The security we have in the control of the Senate over this power, is a good deal weakened by the truth of the remark, that there is no reason to apprehend that the Senate will use their control in unreasonable rejections of presidential nominations; on the contrary,

"The more common error (if there shall be any) will be too great a facility to yield to the executive wishes, as a means of personal or popular favour. A president will rarely want means, if he shall choose to use them, to induce some members of such a body to aid his nominations."

The power of removal from office is, perhaps, even more liable to abuse than the power of appointment; and has, recently, been a subject of much discussion. The questions are, as stated by the Judge,—To whom, in the absence of direct legislation, does the power of removal belong; to the appointing power, that is, the president *and Senate*, or to the president alone. The next question is,

"If the power of removal belongs to the executive, in regard to any appointments confided by the Constitution to him; whether Congress can give any duration of office in such cases, not subject to the exercise of this power of removal."

On the first question our author says,

"The other is a vastly important practical question; and, in an early stage of the government, underwent a most elaborate discussion. The language of the Constitution is, that the president "shall nominate, and, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, appoint," &c. The power to nominate does not naturally, or necessarily include the power to remove; and if the power to appoint does include it, then the latter belongs conjointly to the executive and the Senate. In short, under such circumstances, the removal takes place in virtue of the new appointment, by mere operation of law. It results, and is not separable, from the appointment itself.

"This was the doctrine maintained with great earnestness by the Federalist; and it had a most material tendency to quiet the just alarms of the overwhelming influence, and arbitrary exercise of this prerogative of the executive, which might prove fatal to the personal independence and freedom of opinion of public officers, as well as to the public liberties of the country. Indeed, it is utterly impossible not to feel, that, if this unlimited power of removal does exist, it may be made, in the hands of a bold and designing man, of high ambition and feeble principles, an instrument of the worst oppression, and most vindictive vengeance. Even in monarchies, while the councils of state are subject to perpetual fluctuations and changes, the ordinary officers of the government are permitted to remain in the silent possession of their offices, un-



disturbed by the policy or the passions of the favourites of the court. But in a republic, where freedom of opinion and action are guaranteed by the very first principles of the government, if a successful party may first elevate their candidate to office, and then make him the instrument of their resentments, or their mercenary bargains; if men may be made spies upon the actions of their neighbours, to displace them from office; or if fawning sycophants upon the popular leader of the day may gain his patronage, to the exclusion of worthier and abler men, it is most manifest, that elections will be corrupted at their very source; and those, who seek office, will have every motive to delude and deceive the people."

Other politicians held a different opinion, and argued that the "power of removal belonged to the president; and that it resulted from the nature of the power and the convenience, and even necessity, of its exercise." The leading arguments are given by which this doctrine was supported. We cannot but smile to see the following much relied on: "That the danger that a president would remove good men from office was *wholly imaginary*;" that it "would be *impossible* that he should abuse the patronage of the government, or his power of removal, to the base purposes of gratifying a party, or of *ministering to his own resentments*, or of displacing upright and excellent men for a mere difference of opinion." So reasoned the American patriots and statesmen of former days! It is added, as a substantial part of our defence against the abuse of this power, that "removals made from such motives, or with a view to bestow offices upon dependants and favourites, would be an *impeachable offence*. In this debate, which took place in Congress, Mr. Madison, who advocated this executive power, said emphatically—"In the first place he (the president) will be impeachable by this house before the Senate for such an act of mal-administration; for I contend, that the wanton removal of meritorious men, would subject him to impeachment, and removal from his high trust." But who is to decide when the removal is *wanton*, and the officer *meritorious*? How may these charges be so strictly and directly proved, as to produce or even warrant a conviction? If Mr. Madison relied on this for his opinion, he would probably give it up now. Finally, this power was affirmed by the vote of 34 against 20—in the House of Representatives, and by the casting vote of the vice president in the Senate—and so it has remained.

Upon this interesting subject, the Judge observes :

"The public, however, acquiesced in this decision; and it constitutes, perhaps, the most extraordinary case in the history of the government of a power, conferred by implication on the executive by the assent of a bare majority of Congress, which has not been questioned on many other occasions. Even the most jealous advocates of state rights seem to have slumbered over this vast reach of authority; and have left it untouched, as the neutral ground of controversy, in which they desired to reap no harvest, and from which they retired without leaving any protestations of title or contest. Nor is this general acquiescence and silence without a satisfactory explanation. Until a very

recent period, the power had been exercised in few cases, and generally in such as led to their own vindication. During the administration of President Washington few removals were made, and none without cause; few were made in that of the first President Adams. In that of President Jefferson the circle was greatly enlarged; but yet it was kept within narrow bounds, and with an express disclaimer of the right to remove for differences of opinion, or otherwise than for some clear public good. In the administrations of the subsequent presidents, Madison, Monroe, and J. Q. Adams, a general moderation and forbearance were exercised, with the approbation of the country, and without disturbing the harmony of the system. Since the induction into office of President Jackson, an opposite course has been pursued; and a system of removals and new appointments to office has been pursued so extensively, that it has reached a very large proportion of all the offices of honour and profit in the civil departments of the country. This is matter of fact; and beyond the statement of the fact it is not the intention of the commentator to proceed."

We have not time or space to enter upon the argument of this question—now become of an importance never anticipated, by the manner in which the power has been used.

"This extraordinary change of system has awakened general attention, and brought back the whole controversy, with regard to the executive power of removal, to a severe scrutiny. Many of the most eminent statesmen in the country have expressed a deliberate opinion, that it is utterly indefensible, and that the only sound interpretation of the Constitution is that avowed upon its adoption; that is to say, that the power of removal belongs to the appointing power."

For further information relative to the power of appointments, and several matters connected with it, we must refer our readers to the work before us. So of the power to fill vacancies in the recess of the Senate—and, under that power, to create the office, and make the appointment; and so of other executive powers, express or implied, which are considered and explained, by the learned and indefatigable commentator, not only by the lights of his own understanding and knowledge, but by a reference to the opinions and arguments of our most distinguished statesmen and jurists.

We regret that we must leave the *judiciary* untouched. Of all the departments of government it is the most important to the people. It is the practical and effectual protection of their laws, liberty and property; the organ by which the laws are made to operate for those vital purposes. It stands at the door of every citizen, and guards him from wrongful invasion. It is the power under whose safeguard we travel by day and sleep by night. It walks beside us on the highway, and hovers over the midnight couch. It is always present and always awake. It is the only power of the government on which every individual in the commonwealth has a direct, personal interest. The high and low; the rich and poor; the old and young; the mother and the infant at her breast, owe their safety to the laws *administered by the courts*; for the courts are the arms and ministers of the laws, without which they would be a *dead letter*.

The judiciary of the United States has been constructed with infinite care and wisdom, so as to reach and accomplish all these purposes ; and all its organization and powers are examined and developed in the Commentaries, by all the helps that could be brought to the subject by the extensive learning and untiring industry of the author. This part of the Commentaries would, of itself, furnish abundant interesting matter for a review. It would be a vain endeavour to attempt, at this time, even a passing glance at the various topics connected with it. We prefer to forego it entirely. Of some of the important functions of this department of the government, we have already spoken. The others, we leave to the readers of the Commentaries, together with many of the provisions of the Constitution, which are fully treated in this important and instructive work.

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### SKETCHES OF TURKEY.

ART. V.—*Sketches of Turkey in 1831 and 1832.* By AN AMERICAN. New York: J. & J. Harper, 1833.

ONE of the later Byzantine historians has left on record an incident which, although in itself trivial, has found its way into grave history. At the time that Muhamet, sultan of the Turk-mans, besought the emperor Emanuel, in person, to adjust the differences which had arisen among his three sons, upon the partition of his kingdom among them, the matter of the supplianee was celebrated throughout Constantinople as a triumph. Among other expedients which were resorted to, for the purpose of giving *eclat* to the occasion, a certain Turk gave out that he would, upon a set day, fly from the top of a tower in the tilt-yard, for the distance of a furlong. An experiment so novel, was, as might be supposed in that wondering age, the by-talk and marvel throughout the whole of the imperial city ; and of course brought together at the appointed time a great concourse, all on tiptoe to witness the feat. The Turk appeared upon the tower enveloped in a large white garment, of ample plaits and folds. This simple contrivance could not but attract the attention of his spectators, and, in connection with the hesitancy which he evinced in regard to venturing upon the air, could not but excite their ridicule. They jeered him for his delay. "Fly, Turk, fly," said they, "why do you wait?" Muhamet and the emperor were also lookers on ;—the former, agitated with many fears as to the success of his countryman ; the latter, well convinced of the absurdity of the attempt, and endeavouring to dissuade the Turk from his purpose.



But he heeded no admonitions. The wind at length freshened up, and the Turkman, committing himself to Allah and the Prophet, not unlike Icarus,

Præpetibus pennis ausus se credere cælo,

essayed his flight. But, alas ! the laws of gravitation were too strong, and the miserable man fell headlong to the earth, and paid the penalty of his rashness with his life, without even so much as moving to pity the bosoms of the satirical Greeks. Henceforth, says the historian, the name of Turk was a by-word and ridicule; and even while the sultan sojourned in the city, the exclamation of "Fly, Turk, fly—why do you wait ?" was reiterated at the corners of the streets, and beneath the windows of his house.

This little adventure, which Nicetas Acominatus, surnamed Choniates, has embodied in his annals of Manuel Comnenus, has been used for the purpose of perpetuating the ridiculous impression which was excited in the *canaille* of Constantinople ; and, in good sooth, it would seem as if the foolish cry of an idle multitude had given a law of sentiment to all times and countries in regard to the Osmanlis. The blind zealots of the eastern empire, the infatuated crusaders of the west, and the sciolous tourists of modern Europe have given currency to the same depreciation of Turkish character. It would reasonably be supposed that the Turks had sins enough upon their heads, without being subjected to the aspersions of vanity and credulity. We may observe this absurd spirit in the speculations of philosophers. Every one knows that the name Turk has been synonymous with cruelty and barbarity ; that it has been used to illustrate despotism and severity : but few would imagine that it has been represented as the etymological root of the very word which expresses this idea in the Greek language,\* and in our own. Such, however, is the fact ; and it would appear as if the Turk had to encounter equally the prejudices of the ignorant and the erudite absurdities of the learned.

It is not the least interesting feature in the character of this restless and enterprising age,—an age so bounteous in the means of intercommunication, so quickened with the spirit of inquiry, and so impelled by interest, that the institutions and customs of distant countries are brought to familiar connection with each other. Ignorance in this respect implies a want of attention merely. Every body, or his next neighbour, is now a traveller, and has his measure of information to impart, if not personally to apply

\* The country which the Turks originally inhabited was called *Turan* by the Persians, and they themselves were proverbially ferocious throughout Asia. The Asiatic Greeks, says our grammarian, thence borrowed the word *Tyr-aggos*, from which our own word tyrant is derived. *Tyrant* and *Turk* are therefore, according to this authority, not only synonymous, but identical.

to his own purposes. Books of travel are in fact the burden of the press ; for every scribbler thinks himself qualified to write out his adventures, and to claim the ear of the inquiring world. In his book he apes the instructor and guide ; while, if he would confine himself to his circle of village auditors, he would relate a plainer and a truer tale. Yet of the many narratives respecting "the East," which have in this manner been thrown upon the public, few have proposed to make us acquainted with Turkish character, and fewer still have presented us with any thing really important or credible. Turkey has been an insulated spot in the broad domain of civilization, frequently touched at, it is true, but rarely traversed for the purpose of sketching its physical and moral appearances. Our information has been restricted to a few extravagant ideas in regard to the cruelty and bad faith of its rulers, and to the jealousy and austerity of its other inhabitants—the mere effluence of prejudice and partial inquiry. If we have been beguiled into dreams of love and beauty by the epistles of my lady Montagu, it has been but for a moment, from the consideration of scimitars and ataghans sheathed in burnished steel or silver, and from the other paraphernalia of the oriental assassin.

Of the class of writers to which we now refer, those who professedly take notes of the moral and political condition of a country, there may be observed two distinct descriptions. The one sees human nature under a gloomy aspect. The actions of men are subjected to the worst construction. An exact procrustean standard of right and propriety is brought to the measure of every peculiar custom, without regard to circumstances, and without allowance for the authority of age, religion or other peculiar condition. Need we say that this family is the offspring of bigotry, vanity and disappointment? The Halls, the Hamiltons and the Fiddlers of our day aptly range themselves under this head. The other description of writers look upon the favourable side of things. If not determined to be pleased, they will not, on the other hand, be displeased at every variance from their preconceived ideas of domestic manners or political regulations. They write as if influenced by the sound principle in ethics, that no permanent institution has been formed without some reasonable motive, or probably sufficient reason. They too may err ; but they err on the side of philanthropy, and their error cannot affect any to such an injurious extent as the other.

The author of the volume before us is of the latter class ; and his work is calculated to set us right as respects many points, upon which our information is partial and imperfect, or else highly coloured. He is not of that number who give their readers what they themselves may have inferred, and not what they may have seen and known, the proper matter which should constitute a volume of travels. Having no vain prejudices to uphold, and no national

antipathies to nourish, he has surveyed the manners, customs and institutions of the singular people among whom he sojourned with a lenient, liberal and philosophic spirit, accumulating interesting facts which might illustrate character and policy much better than a multitude of specious reflections. He has evidently brought to the execution of his task a mind well informed in regard to national peculiarities—thereby enabled to perform it calmly and considerately. Moreover, there is in his *Sketches*, a freshness and simplicity, which gain our credence while they attract our attention. We have, indeed, been so often imposed upon by piebald relations, made up of the statistics of the library, of matter extracted from books in every body's hands, and of trifling incident, that this narrative, from the single characteristic to which we now refer, commands our warmest commendation.

The long ascendancy which the crescent has enjoyed, not less than the antiquity of its followers, the population and political strength of Turkey, the glorious associations connected with its soil, the fables which are related of its present condition, and the real ignorance which exists in regard to it, combine to render it an object of great interest. The importance, too, which arises from the development of comparatively recent events, the movements of Russia, the independency of the Morea, the rebellion of Mehemet Ali, and the treaty formed with the United States, tends still further to render any work acceptable which might furnish us with simple details in regard to the character, situation, and policy of its people and rulers, unincumbered with the embellishments of oriental romance. We purpose, therefore, to furnish our readers with such an analysis of the present work, as its high character seems certainly to deserve, at the same time combining with it such information as we may deem necessary, derived from other sources.

The exaggerated opinion which has been formed of the vices to which we have already referred, as also the contracted one of the virtues of Moslem character, render it somewhat difficult to do it strict justice. A positive conviction, or even vague impressions, in regard to political matters, involving national pride or prejudice, are not easily eradicated. They serve to retard the admission of new truths, when offered for the purpose of correction. We therefore advise our readers that they will probably have much to unlearn in perusing the volume before us, or the extracts which we shall make.

The present sultan has been stigmatized as a ferocious monster, stubborn, unreasonable, and almost without any redeeming virtue; yet we think him incontrovertibly the most extraordinary sovereign that now fills a throne. Energetic, politic, and enlightened, he yields, in those qualities which befit the supreme head of a great people, to none of those who, arrogating to themselves the most as-



suming titles, claim to be the guardians and defenders of Christendom. No living monarch has gone through so eventful and tumultuous a period, or has himself participated in so many bloody scenes; no one has steered so clear of dangerous entanglements with his neighbours, or has done so little to excite their enmity and hostility; and but few have done so much to ameliorate the condition of their people. In truth, he seems to be heartily devoted to the building up of the Ottoman empire, by taking advantage of those means which have elevated his neighbours. The field for operation has been great, and there still remains much to be performed. It is a source of wonder, however, that under all circumstances, he has done so much.

Mahmud ascended the throne in 1808, having deposed his brother Mustapha. He has consequently reigned for twenty-five years, a longer period than has any sultan for the last century. The violent means by which he became possessed of his power, might have induced him to seek some other and firmer basis for its support, than the base fears of his subjects; while the long experience which he has had of the genius of his people and of their wants, may have urged him to those great measures of reform which he has adopted within a few years. The step which will mark his reign through future history above all others, is the destruction of the corps of janizaries,—a body which, like the prætorians of declining Rome, gave law and sovereigns to the state. It is certainly a signal instance of his firmness, wisdom, and active policy.

This military institution was created, according to Von Hammer, in 1330, or, according to the common received accounts, in 1363. It originally embraced merely the children of the conquered Christians, who had been reared up in the doctrines of Islamism. It continued under this constitution till the close of the seventeenth century, when the children of the soldiers themselves were admitted into the corps. In this manner an hereditary class of military was formed, whose power eventually became so formidable, as to rule even the sultan. Standing armies are the curse of those countries which adopt them. The nature of military power is such that it soon leads to a contempt of civil subordination, and seeks to be paramount to every authority in the state. The institution of the janizaries was doubtless, in the beginning, highly advantageous to the Turkish emperors, for it placed in their hands a powerful and permanent instrument for war and conquest, which otherwise they had not possessed. When it was no longer wanted, however, it was not to be shaken off. It had struck deep root into the very constitution of the government, and had become part and parcel of it. It had grown with the growth, and strengthened with the strength of the empire, till its shadow overspread the whole domain. The existence of such a

power could not be disguised from the janizaries themselves. They knew it, and were not tardy in exerting it for their own benefit. Sultans became the mere minions of a brutal soldiery—trustees of their usurped supremacy. The people were oppressed by their insolence, rapine, and open robbery. Various attempts had been made by different sultans to curb them or to abridge their power, but the signal failures which attended the whole of them, only served to increase the evil.

Recent events had admonished Mahmud of the inefficiency of the janizaries as an army in time of war; and while he participated in the fears of his predecessors, he took his measures more prudently to extirpate them. A previous attempt which he had made, but which had been unsuccessful, placed him on the surer ground of experience. He now increased the number of artillerymen, who had been drilled in European tactics and gunnery, to thirty thousand men. He then brought over to his views the leading officers of the janizaries, and drew a number of men from each regiment, and had them instructed in European exercises. They were silent for a while under these changes; but it was the delusive calm before the storm. At length, brooking no restraint, and putting the authority of the sultan at defiance, they returned to their wonted acts of rapine and plunder. Mahmud was now prepared. He summoned his artillerymen, and called upon them to assist him in maintaining his throne and empire, and in securing the safety of his subjects. He even invoked the janizaries to acknowledge the supremacy of the laws; and three times warned them to obey. They refused obstinately and cruelly, putting to death the grand vizir and others sent to treat with them. The word was now given to cut them down. They were driven to their barracks. These were set fire to by the bombs of the artillerymen; and those of the janizaries who were not burned to death, were put to the sword as they attempted to escape. Not a single one remained.

In his works of reform, the present sultan has not consulted his own security alone. An important measure for his subjects was the establishment of the *Takvimmie Vaykahee*,—a moral phenomenon, well calculated to elicit the wonder and applause of Christendom. A Turkish newspaper is such an encroachment upon our received ideas of the character and habits of the people, as may well excite surprise; yet the great success which has attended the undertaking, speaks not less for the discrimination of the monarch, than of his desire to benefit his people. It is well worthy the monarch who exhibited such unequivocal instances of paternal regard towards them, as he did at the great fire at Pera. In this conflagration ten thousand dwellings were destroyed, and eighty thousand persons turned into the streets. "The sultan," says our author, "immediately caused one hundred thousand pias-

tres to be distributed, and issued a firman, in which he enjoined upon his subjects to receive into their houses, and to treat with kindness, all the sufferers by the fire, whether Greek, Armenian, or Jew. He likewise assigned for their immediate accommodation, the large barrack in the neighbourhood of Pera, which is capable of holding seven thousand men; ordered provisions to be distributed, and furnished tents to such as were still without shelter." One such recorded fact speaks louder than a volume of panegyric.

Mahmud, we believe, attends personally upon the councils of the divan,—a custom which, by the *laches* of one of the earlier emperors, had fallen into entire disuse. This council consists of seventeen members, a number which, taking into consideration the habitual sluggishness of the Turks, would seem to require the presence of a man of the firmness and sagacity of the present sultan to aid its deliberations. He has, moreover, attacked the prejudices of his people still more by changing the dress of his soldiers. He has substituted a more convenient and becoming suit for the flowing *chaskeers* and turban; and has made his army appear at least more suited for the purposes for which it is intended. The soldiers have been made to mount guard, another serious innovation upon the national listlessness.

Some slight idea of the conception which the Turks have of this duty, and of the difficulty which has attended its introduction, may be gathered from a scene which our author describes:

"Two soldiers were stationed on guard at this place, and, as their duty was not particularly burdensome, they were quickly kicking their heels over the bank, and endeavouring to inveigle some small fish (*Smaris*), about the size of our killifish, out of the water. They could not however be accused of deserting their posts, for their muskets were stuck up in the ground some two or three hundred yards off, doing duty for their masters."—P. 224.

One blot, however, is asserted to exist upon the fair page of this administration. How far it may be considered such, we confess, is a matter of some doubt. We do not rank ourselves among those who so yearn for Greece, on account of her pristine eminence in letters and philosophy, in taste and the arts, as to consider the exertion of right against her present people a monstrous sacrilege; neither, on the other hand, do we deny our sympathies for a country which has been subjected to an ignoble slavery. We were among those who panted for the freedom of Greece, and for a re-illumination of Grecian mind. But how bitterly have we been disappointed?

The conduct of Mahmud is another question. If there was awful recrimination on the one side, there was extreme provocation on the other. In a conflict for liberty, something must be allowed for the vehemence of passion; but the Greeks seemed to set at defiance all humanity and martial propriety. The retaliation of the Turks was barbarous. The first scene in the tragedy



of Scio was enacted by a band of infuriated Greeks, and to them alone must be attributed the horrid catastrophe which terminated so abruptly the whole drama. A retribution still more iniquitous was visited upon the Turks at Navarino.

The interference of the allies to liberate Greece from its Moslem masters has been mixed up with this question, and seems to demand a passing notice. So far as the general principle is concerned, we deem it clearly demonstrable that the intervention can not be justified. Who will pretend to say that the success of Mahmud in retaining his empire over the Greeks was in any way hazardous to the safety of either or all the allied powers? And, assuming that the Turks, as infidels, were entitled to no rights under that law of nations which has grown up, though it has been hardly acted upon, among the Christian states, are they to be thrown out of the pale of natural as well as conventional right? Does the law of nature speak otherwise in regard to the treatment of Musselmén, than it does to that of Christians? Is there not at least one binding, universal principle, among all nations, whether Jews or Gentiles,—that of common justice?

If, however, cruel and inhuman treatment towards a subjected people be, under the necessity of the case, a sufficient reason for an interference, it must be admitted that such an exigency existed in this instance. But they who put in this plea, must do it with clean hands and righteous motives. They must have been divested of all views of self interest. How was it in regard to the movement of the allied sovereigns? The result affords us a fatal answer to all such pretensions on their part.

Let us turn from this digression. Mahmud has, more than any of his predecessors, extended the commercial relations of his country. Overreached in their treaties with foreign powers, and jealous of their religion and national institutions, the Turks have been slow to walk in the paths of diplomacy. The answer of Jussuf Aggliah Effendi we consider nothing more than a Turkish sarcasm. This notable person was, as the story goes, asked, on his return to Constantinople, what remarkable things he had seen in London, and among other things, what he thought of the House of Commons. "It is," said he, "nothing but a noisy assembly of braggarts and brawlers. I saw nothing in it which was not truly despicable. But I did see a thing really wonderful,—I saw a man who, having four oranges in one hand and two forks in the other, threw up into the air the oranges and the forks successively, and stuck one on the other with the utmost rapidity." Prince Metternich might give a lesson to this juggler. But, whether the ambassador meant any thing more than he expressed, or not, he might have applied it to some of those with whom his country have had national intercourse. Despite, however, of natural antipathies, the sultan has opened old treaties and formed new ones,

much to the advantage of his subjects. The late treaty between this country, and the course which it took, are doubtless familiar to our readers. The whole history of this negotiation, the circumstances attending the ratification of the treaty, and the intrigues of the other courts, with the honourable exception of Russia, to defeat it, are fully detailed in the volume before us. When the treaty was sent to Washington for ratification by the Senate of the United States, objections were made to the translation of the secret article, which accompanied it, and by which certain privileges for ship-building were granted to the Porte, as a customary equivalent for the treaty. A new translation was made and ratified. It will be well to bear this circumstance in mind in perusing the account which our author gives of the reception of the ratified treaty and of its final disposition.

“Before his arrival (that of the *Chargé*) at Constantinople, the Turkish government had been apprized of all that had passed; they also learned, and their oriental pride was not a little disturbed at learning, that the horses presented by the sultan to Mr. Rhind, had been seized by the government of the United States, and sold at public auction. Accordingly, one of the first questions agitated was to know why a minister plenipotentiary had not been employed to negotiate so important a matter as a public treaty. It was explained that we were a very economical people, and that in fact we recognized no difference between the two ranks, except on the score of salary; that we were as yet young among nations, and scarcely older, as one of our agents told the *seraiskier*, than the beard of his highness. “I understand all that,” said the old man, “but you send a minister to Russia, and even to the petty republics in the southern part of your continent, and why do you insult us by sending an inferior officer?” With regard to the seizure and sale of the horses, although an exceedingly small matter on the part of our government, it was explained to their satisfaction that the law on the subject was too imperative to be disregarded; but that no disrespect was intended to the sultan. At this juncture our *Chargé d’Affaires*, Commodore Porter, arrived, and it required all the good sense and firmness which distinguishes that gallant officer to prevent an open rupture. After these several conferences, in which these preliminary matters were fully discussed, the rejection of the secret article was taken up. It required considerable address to explain to the Turkish government why we had refused them privileges which every nation possessed; and they even adduced the example of those vessels which had been built for their rebellious subjects, the Greeks. They were informed that the secret article granted them no privileges which they had not already; and that the Ottoman government could cause a fleet to be built, if they wished it, in the United States, without any molestation.

“At this stage of the negotiation difficulties arose about an exchange of salutes between the American vessel of war, in which commodore Porter had arrived, and the Turkish batteries. It has been the leading topic of the day among the Frank residents, and so many different versions have been given of the transaction, that it is almost impossible to state its precise nature. It terminated, however, in a civil intimation from the Turkish authorities, that the departure of the vessel in question would be particularly agreeable, and she accordingly left the harbour. The Turks, who sometimes take odd views of things, cannot be made to conceive why so much importance should be attached to so simple a matter as the burning of a few pounds of powder. They give no salutes, neither do they ask for any. If you tell them that the

ship is the representative of the country, they ask if the captain represents the king or president, and the officers of the congress; and when you put the salute on the footing of a compliment to their sultan, they reply that they do not require such noisy and empty compliments, and that in their own country they might surely be permitted to indulge in their own usages. An effendi, to whom we endeavoured one day to explain the nature of the compliment, said, "I observe that you Christians take off your hats to each other when you meet; is this a compliment or act of courtesy similar to that which you have been endeavouring to explain?" To this we assented. "Pray then, what would be your opinion of a stranger who walked into your house and addressed you in this manner:—'I am a stranger to you, sir, but wish to be your friend, and, to give you a convincing proof of it, I will now take off my hat and salute you; but first I must have your promise that you will take off your own in return, otherwise I shall help myself to a chair, and take no further notice of you?'" This was putting the business of salutes in a novel light, and we left our Turkish friend chuckling over the ingenuity of his comparison.

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"Every thing was ready to sign, seal and deliver, when suddenly the unfortunate Washington translation was brought forward, and declared by the Turkish authorities to be a false and spurious document. As, by the terms of the treaty, if not ratified by a certain day which was near at hand, it would be null and void, and as there was no time to send home for instructions, it was taken for granted that the whole affair would fall through. Much chuckling ensued among the agents of those powers supposed to be most interested in excluding us from the Black Sea; but their triumph was of short duration. Commodore Porter, with that straight forward decision which renders all the cobweb tissues of diplomacy unavailing, boldly cut through the entangled snare. He is represented to have stated, that as the Senate supposed that they had ratified the original Turkish treaty, he was willing to act upon that principle, and would take upon himself the responsibility, if any there were, of signing the original Turkish document instead of the Washington translation. To this there could be no objection; and thus, after a wearisome negotiation of two months, in which intrigues of all kinds were at work to defeat our minister, the exchange of ratifications has finally taken place, and the Americans here feel as if they were now on an independent footing." —Pp. 297, 301.

Our author has confined his observations to those places and scenes which occurred more directly on his route to and from Constantinople, and principally to the city itself and its neighbourhood. They are of a highly interesting character, and essentially of a practical nature. One of the first considerations with the Turks of Constantinople has been, to obtain a suitable supply of good water. Every fountain and rill, which, in more favoured countries might be suffered to run to waste, is carefully preserved, and made to communicate with the great water-courses which furnish the city. Large reservoirs are constructed among the hills which lie off from fifteen to twenty miles from Stamboul, by building a piece of masonry across a gorge, sometimes to the height of one or even two hundred feet. These bendts, as they are called, are frequently ornamented, as in fact are all the contrivances in the East for the preservation of water, with marble slabs and balustrades. The aqueducts which are used for the purpose of convey-



ing the fluid to the city and its suburbs are also most magnificent structures. In crossing a long valley, the Turks overcome the expense of aqueducts, or of strong water-pipes, which they themselves cannot manufacture, by a very ingenious and simple method. A number of truncated, pyramidal pillars, made of stone, and about five feet square at the base, and from ten to fifty feet high, are erected at certain short intervals along the proposed water course. These pillars are called *sooterays*, a word expressive of their use,—that of levelling the water. The water leaves the hill and descends through earthen pipes. It then rises in a pipe, up the side of the pillar or sooteray, and is discharged into a stone basin on the top of the pillar, which is of the level of the reservoir on the hill. It then descends through a duct on the other side of the pillar, to the ground, under which it travels to the next sooteray, and so along the whole line.

“In the city of Constantinople, the old ruinous aqueduct of Valens, which no longer conducts water in the usual manner, is converted into a series of sooterays, and permits one to examine their structure in detail. The stone basin on the summit is covered with an iron plate, to prevent the birds from injuring the water. This is connected by a hinge, and, upon lifting it up, the basin is found to be divided into two parts by a stone partition. Several holes are made in this partition near its upper edge. The water from the ascending pipe is allowed by this means to settle its foreign impurities, and the surface water, which is of course the most pure, flows through these apertures into the adjoining compartment, from whence it descends, and is carried to the next sooteray, where the same process is repeated. A number of projecting stones on the sides facilitate the ascent of the person who has charge of these sooterays, and whose business it is to remove the deposits from the water in the stone basins.”

The advantages of this plan are manifest. The pressure of the fluid is dispersed among a number of columns, and the expense of stronger pipes completely obviated; a large portion of the water is exposed to the purifying action of the air and light; and by means of the descending pipe, water is dispensed to the adjoining villages and fields.

The Christian traveller, not less than the devout Musselman, regards with attention the buildings which are set apart for the service of religion in Constantinople. With their proud domes and minarets, they are the first to rivet his eyes on his approach to the city; and he hastens to survey their structure and proportions. There are in all thirteen royal mosques, besides San Sophia, which is the first in interest, if not in beauty. It was built in its present form by the emperor Justinian. Here it was that Mohammed, the victorious assailant of the city of the Constantines, offered up his thanks for the signal success which had attended his arms, while the prayers of the Christians were still fresh within its walls. It is a huge and shapeless mass of stone, calculated to excite the wonder rather than the admiration of the spectator. It is an imposing monument of the mutability of human affairs, and of the

vanity and fanaticism of human nature. The mosque of Suleiman was built in 1556, and excels that of San Sophia in effect. Four columns of red granite, brought from Ephesus, support the interior of the dome. They are sixty-four feet high. A covered cloister surrounds the building itself, which is two hundred and fifty feet square, and is supported by "massy monolithie columns of Egyptian granite, porphyry, verd antique, and white marble, thirty feet high and four feet in diameter." We are assured by some travellers that death is the penalty to a Christian for being found in a mosque. Our author, however, seems to have looked into the mosque at Suleiman, "but saw nothing more than a matted floor, and the otherwise imposing effect of the vast interior was destroyed by innumerable coloured glass lamps and ostrich eggs, hanging down to within a few feet of the floor." This mosque, as are all the rest, is built after the model of San Sophia. It has attached to it not less than five maydressays, or colleges for the instruction of youth in the higher branches of science and theology.

Men have ever evinced their solicitude to advance their peculiar religious creeds, by the establishment of eleemosynary institutions, dependent upon, and controlled by, the ministers of their faith.

The Musselman has not been behind the Christian; and the colleges, schools, imarays and hospitals, which are in fact appendages of their mosques, are not totally dissimilar to our universities and charitable societies which the spirit of sectarianism is now daily multiplying. As a means of solid and advanced education they are consequently depreciated. A regular routine of scholastic studies,—of grammar, logic, theology and philosophy,—is, and probably will continue to be, as long as the same system is pursued, the only path for genius or ambition. We doubt not that the great cause for the low state of the higher branches of literature and science in Turkey, is to be attributed to this circumstance, in a great degree, if not solely.

The state of common school education is, however, certainly remarkable, and of itself constitutes a striking commentary upon the general belief as to this point in the municipal policy of the descendants of Othman. The number of elementary schools in Constantinople at the present time exceeds a thousand. In those attached to the mosques the children of the poorer classes are taught gratuitously, and each of them has a certain number, who are also fed and clothed at the expense of the mosque. These free schools amount to about three hundred. On one occasion, that of the delivery of Prince Abdool, the heir presumptive to the throne, to his instructors, when all Constantinople was alive to its festivities, the scholars of the free schools were brought together for the purpose of witnessing the ceremony; and an opportunity was offered to our author of estimating their number. This he puts

down at six thousand. The rudiments which are taught, are reading, writing and the precepts of the Koran.

The learning of Turkey is engrossed by the ulema, or ministers of law and religion. They are a distinct class, and are supposed to exercise an authority equal, if not paramount, to that of the sultan. In truth they are now, since the extinction of the janizaries, the only check upon the absolute power of the grand seignior; though it may well be questioned whether their influence and authority are not extremely prejudicial to the advancement of the state. Certain it is that they have been the uniform opponents of the measures of reform which Mahmud has introduced. As the especial guardians of Islamism, and the expounders of their laws, they constitute a body in whom the subordinate administration of the government, at least, is wholly concentrated; they might, therefore, justly be supposed to throw every obstacle in the way of any essential change. The ulema are divided into three classes:—*iman*, or ministers of religion; *cadi*, or ministers of justice; and *mufti*, or minister of civil and ecclesiastical law. The grand mufti is the head of all, and his the highest grade which can be attained. He is the first law officer in the land, and adjudicates, without appeal, upon all matters of law and religion. "If a person, previous to commencing a law suit, has doubts, he makes a statement of his case in writing, under a fictitious name. This statement is handed to the grand mufti, who replies in the shortest possible terms, such as yes or no, it is lawful, it is not lawful. This answer is termed a *fetwa*, and is produced at the trial." This practice, of course, leaves great room for corruption, and it too often happens that the *fetwa* is only the result of a rich bribe. The *cadi* are the ordinary magistrates, and are the next class above the *naibs*, or justices of the peace. The *iman* officiate during prayers at the mosques, and occasionally expound a passage of the Koran. In order to become of the ulema, the student is required to pass through one of the colleges, after which he is examined before the mufti, and if found qualified, he enters another college, which is initiatory to the lowest grade of the ulema.

Of the military strength of Turkey our information is very limited; and the researches of our author do not furnish us with much that is new or important in regard to it. Recent events would seem to contradict the prevalent opinion as to the capability of the Turks in resisting a large invading army, or such a one as the czar might lead against them. Independently of their numerical force, there is certainly wanting that energy which built up their empire in Europe, or which would enable them to compete on equal terms with an enemy versed in the system of modern warfare. The new organization of his army which Mahmud has partially effected, is but one step in elevating the character and intrinsic worth of his soldiers. Experience, and



that perhaps dearly bought, may make the Ottomans worthy of their former fame. If the population of their European possessions be put down at nine millions, which we should judge was a fair estimate, there must be an available force in the defence of the country of at least 500,000 men. The barracks around Constantinople alone are represented as sufficient to accommodate 70,000; while the number distributed throughout the provinces and the fortresses in the north and south would increase the actual military force of the Turks to between 200,000 and 300,000, a number which might be sufficient to defend Turkey against the most formidable foes. Her effective naval strength is, in the volume before us, set down at six line-of-battle ships, twelve frigates, ten corvettes, and a number of small vessels, besides the corvette recently purchased in this country.

We have thus far followed our author in a very desultory manner. We will now hasten to bring our readers to a more familiar acquaintance with his work. The extraordinary accounts which have from time to time been published in regard to the slave-trade practised by the Turks, have more or less partaken of the nature of romance; as if so horrid a traffic needed the embellishments of fiction to excite our sympathies or to arouse our indignation. Long custom has divested this business of its enormity in the eyes of the Turks; and it is their apparent disregard of feeling, which arises from this circumstance, that leads the spectator to believe that they are monsters devoid of all sensibility or humanity. The reverse, however, is the fact. Although the subject of price and barter, the slaves of the Turks are admitted to the same privileges and enjoy the same freedom as do any of the members of their families. They are in all respects a part of themselves, and give their opinions upon all matters which are topics of discourse, most unreservedly, and are listened to with as much deference and attention as they could desire. From them, too, persons are selected "to fill some of the most elevated stations in the realm." The following short description of the slave *bazaar*, is rather unsatisfactory to those who expect an elaborate account of the spot where, to adopt the language of a recent traveller, "the atrocious sacrifice of beauty and of innocence is offered up on the altar of slavery, to the Mahometan demon of concupiscence."

"It consists of a quadrangular building, with an open court in the centre about two hundred feet square. Around this square are raised platforms, three feet high, upon which the slaves are exposed for sale. Behind these are rooms with latticed windows, where the white women are kept until sold. In the court there are nearly a hundred black women, whose scarred cheeks and striped dresses announced them to be from Dorfur and Sennaar. They endeavoured by gestures and strange gibberish, accompanied with shouts of laughter, to attract our attention, and induce us to become their purchasers. Strange as the fact may appear to many of our countrymen, who regard, very justly, slavery as a great moral and political evil, these poor beings, instead

of shuddering at the approach of a purchaser, actually look forward to that event with undisguised pleasure. We have had frequent opportunities of observing the same feeling in the crowded slave-markets of South America." —P. 276.

The Porte abolished the traffic in Greek slaves in 1830; and ordered all those who had become so since the revolt, to be emancipated, and money furnished them to return home. The white slaves are obtained from Georgia and Circassia, from their parents and relatives; and many facts tend to show that servitude among the Turks is considered in those countries more as a preferment than as a degradation. It is most undoubtedly true that the tribes of Caucasus are in continual turmoil and war, with the hope and expectation of obtaining captives for barter; but it is not less true that the high immunities which Turkish slaves enjoy, the great improvement in their condition from what they enjoyed at home, and the opportunities which are opened to them to rise to offices of dignity and honour, combine to influence the Circassians to sell their children. The fame of the beauty of the Georgian women is well founded; their countenances are strong and expressive, and their forms finely turned; they are not, however, entitled to that universal pre-eminence which some have awarded them. The black slaves are employed as menials, performing the drudgery of the house. They are treated with uniform kindness, and their bondage is no more than an exile from their own country.

Connected with this subject, in some measure, is that of the condition of the female sex in Turkey. All travellers agree in representing them as grossly ignorant, even in the rudiments of scholarship. The height of the ambition of a Turkish lady is to please her husband by the graces of personal beauty. For this purpose she uses cosmetics of a thousand kinds. With one she tinges the tip of her eyelids black; with another, she paints the ends of her fingers. Beyond this and the performance of her household duties her cares do not extend. The exclusion of the sex, is, perhaps, more the result of their own long continued practice, than of any jealousy on the part of the men. The distinction between the two sexes is, however, nowhere more marked than in Turkey, owing to the studied care with which the women are thus kept. The Turks do not converse about their wives, and consider any attempt to introduce the subject as highly indecorous. Their houses are divided into two parts,—the *salamlik*, or men's apartment, and the *harem*, or women's apartment.

"A long room communicating with several others, is the ordinary living apartment of the women and female domestics. In this room, all the household operations, such as sewing, spinning, weaving, &c. are performed, and here, too, they take their meals. Around this room is a range of cupboards or closets, three feet high, which contain domestic utensils, clothes, and other articles appertaining to a household. Upon the top of these closets they sleep at night, and, similar to the men, with their clothes on. This unseem-

ly practice they have in common with the Greeks, who do not, however, correct it, like the Turks, by frequent ablutions, and who are said, at least the lower classes, to wear out a suit of clothes before it leaves their backs. The apartments for the husband and male domestics offer nothing peculiar, except that they are distinct from those of the women; in some houses the communication is completely cut off, except by a single door, of which the husband and wife have each a key. In others the food prepared by the women is conveyed into the *salamlik* by means of a revolving cupboard, similar to the contrivances used in the convents of Europe. The entrance from the street is equally distinct, and it is needless to add that the women have free ingress and egress. It is probable that the women are quite as much satisfied with this arrangement as the men; and if the truth could be ascertained, it would no doubt be ascertained that it originated with the women themselves. They must certainly be rid of those thousand petty annoyances, which, we are assured on competent authority, even the best of husbands are but too apt to create in an orderly family."—Pp. 266, 267.

The Turkish lady does not appear abroad without her veil, which covers her forehead, and then falling on either side of her face, covers also her mouth, chin and breast; yet she promenades and rides out as frequently as the unveiled daughters of the West. In fact, there is no restraint upon her, and she is free to act as she may think proper.

Although polygamy is permitted in Turkey, it is limited to four; and in fact rarely occurs. A man, however, may have as many slaves as he may choose. Marriage is a civil institution, and is performed before the magistrate. The following amusing account of the ceremony will of itself atone for its length.

"An unusual scampering backwards and forwards before the door of the American palace at *Buyukdery*, and a bustle in the lower part of the village, announce that some important event is about to transpire. The *carass* or diplomatic harlequin attached to the embassy, informs us that a Turkish marriage is about to be celebrated, and that one of the parties is no less a personage than the eldest son of *Hadji Mustafa*, the chief municipal officer of the village. During my residence here, a sort of an acquaintance had been formed between honest *Mustafa* and myself, and his good nature and politeness had indeed rendered him a general favourite. We accordingly proceeded to his house, which, on this occasion, was open to all comers. We were shown in the upper part of the house, but the attendants would not allow us to take off our shoes, as we wished to do, in order to comply with their customs. We were then introduced into the chief apartment, where the old gentleman was in readiness to receive company, and who presented us to the bridegroom, a young man about eighteen years of age. He was dressed of course in his best, and a turban of spotless white shaded features which were remarkably regular and agreeable. The bride herself could not have displayed more diffidence than this young man; and we may in general observe, that young Turks are more quiet and orderly in their deportment, and more respectful to their parents, and to their elders in years, than the youth of any country we have ever seen. The room was filled up with articles of dress, piled on shelves, and their quantity and variety gave it the appearance of a well-stocked shop in the bazaar. These were from the young lady and her friends, all of whom contribute something towards house-keeping upon such occasions. These articles all belong to the wife in case of the death of her husband, or of being divorced from him. The Franks here, in their marriage



contracts, which, are always drawn up in writing, with great formality, have a practice somewhat similar, but which is carried to an extent the most ridiculous and absurd possible. In the outer hall our attention was called to a formidable collection of pots, kettles, stewpans, and all the numerous et ceteras of a complete kitchen. After partaking of sweetmeats, pipes and coffee, we were permitted to depart, but Mustafa requested us to witness the religious ceremony which would take place in the village mosque that evening.

"We found at the door five arabahs drawn by oxen, which were decorated with ribands, flowers, &c., and the arabahs were filled with the female relatives of the young man, about to go in search of the bride who resided in a village just above Buyukdery. We saw them returning in the afternoon with the bride, and the procession by this time had swelled out into quite respectable dimensions. First came a party of musicians, accompanying their vile nasal yells upon instruments still more detestable. Then followed the men on horseback, and the procession closed with a dozen arabahs filled with women. That which carried the bride was closed all around, but the others were open. The men seemed particularly anxious to display their horsemanship, and even the old papas of the respective parties exhibited a pardonable vanity in showing off their activity. In one of these attempts 'to witch the world with noble horsemanship,' the worthy old Mustafa was sent frisking through the air over his horse's head, but fortunately without injury, and he joined in the general laugh occasioned by his accident.

"Having given them sufficient time to reach home and settle down comfortably, we accompanied the ladies on their visit to the bride. On our way we met the bridegroom coming from the bath, in state; that is to say, he was preceded by musicians, accompanied by his friends, and followed by all the rabble in the village. He looked sheepish enough, and appeared to be heartily ashamed of the conspicuous part he was compelled to play.

"While waiting in the street for the ladies, our worthy friend Mustafa came out, and as, from a wish to comply with their customs, we resisted his invitation to enter, he ordered a coffee-house to be opened in the neighbourhood, where we might remain until the ladies appeared. According to their report, they found the bride nearly stifled under the weight of her wedding dresses. She was apparently eighteen years old, as fat as a seal, with a pretty face, as far as it could be discerned under the various disfigurements with which fashion or fancy had contrived to disguise it. The eyebrows were united into one broad streak of black by the use of *soormay*, and various bits of gold foil, or gilt pieces of paper, were stuck upon different parts of her face. The ceremony in the evening was simple; a prayer was recited by the iman, and upon leaving the mosque, the friends of the bridegroom struck him lustily over the shoulders for good luck, as Mustafa took the trouble to explain to us."—Pp. 429, 430.

A people so lavish of life as the Turks, could not regard death with so much terror as those more humane; in addition to this circumstance, the great doctrine of their religion teaches them to hope for the gratification of their sensual appetites in a voluptuous paradise, without fear of more than a temporary punishment at most for their delinquencies on earth. When a person dies, a slight momentary exhibition of sorrow appears, which soon yields to their religious reasoning, and the relatives relapse into their wonted apathy. The body is washed and shaved, wrapped up in linen, and buried without further ceremony.

The same indifference in regard to death appears at their burial-places. They are their pleasure-grounds, where they promenade,

and even have their marts. They are covered with cypress trees, which, while they throw a congenial shade over the tombs, only render them more agreeable for a lounge. This habitual thoughtlessness as to that time and place which excite the most solemn meditations in the mind of the Christian, is a striking trait in Turkish character, though not anomalous. History abundantly proves that the cruel practices of the government of the Turks are the result of a necessary policy in the infancy of their empire in Europe; and though they may serve in part to lead them to place a lower estimate on life, such an unconcern is not to be averred as evidence of a cruel disposition. Their proverbial humanity to the brute creation is certainly contradictory of any such inference.

There are some peculiarities about a Turkish cemetery that may well be noted. That at Scrutari contains five hundred acres, and has been for centuries the depository of the mortality of Constantinople, whether of ruler or people, of master or slave. The social spirit which forsook them when living, reunites them when dead; and although inimical and separated in their paths through life, all Musselmens there fraternize and form a huge caravan to move 'to the pale realms of shade.' There is a striking moral in this. No sectarian prejudices divide the votaries of Islamism; and whatever differences may arise among them, they are forgotten in the charnel house. We are thus reminded of the inanity of opinion which refines itself upon points of doctrinal faith. A stone is placed at the head of each grave, and a turban is cut upon it. This representation varies according to the fashion of the covering for the head; thus, on the more ancient tomb-stones the turban appears of a fantastic shape; more recently, of the ordinary mode; and latterly, since the alterations which have taken place in the dress as well as in other arrangements of the Turks, of a fez or red cap.

"The future antiquarian, perchance some learned Herrick, who may prosecute his inquiries concerning the antique and varying fashions of the Turkish empire, need not consult moth-eaten records for descriptions, nor puzzle himself to decipher decayed illuminated manuscripts, to ascertain the manifold mutations of the Turkish turban. His researches, indeed, will be among the dead; but it is from the burying-ground that he will collect his facts, and all his authorities he will find in this novel *magazin des modes*, sculptured in imperishable marble."

No fulsome panegyric appears upon these stones, in regard to the virtues of the deceased; but simply his name and occupation, and a pious commendation of his soul to God. On the upper corners of the stones two small cavities are cut, which may catch the rain and supply the birds with drink. Pots of flowers are sometimes imbedded in the marble slabs which cover the graves, and the plants are industriously nourished for months and years.

Scutari lies on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus. That the Turks should select this place as the burying-ground for Constan-

tinople is singular, but not inexplicable. They believe that in course of time they will be compelled to retire to Asia; and they, therefore, wish that their remains may lie undisturbed by the infidel and in the land of the holy city. Favourite associations may, as our author supposes, strengthen this desire; but it is undoubtedly true that a pervading superstition, founded on omens and prophecies in regard to a certain termination of their power on the western side of the Bosphorus, exists among all the Turks. Their superstitions, too, are as active as their antipathies to the Christian are strong and unalterable. They pay a particular reverence to accidental coincidences of names or of numbers, in common with all the oriental nations. Constantinople, the city of seven names and of seven hills, was taken by the seventh sultan of the Turks. It was made the seat of the Greek empire by Constantine, the son of an Helena, and while a Gregory was patriarch; it was taken by the Turks, under the patriarchate of a Gregory, and when a Constantine, the son of an Helena, governed over it. It was conquered by a Mahomet, and, say the Faithful, it will be lost by one. Scutari contains a population of about 80,000; it is the depository also of the grain used by Constantinople. The produce of grain is a government monopoly; and the price is fixed by a regular assize. At this place, the hadjis or pilgrims to the holy city assemble at a particular season of the year to set out on their visitation. This caravan, one of the four, according to Burckhardt, which move annually to Mecca, is the largest, and with the exception of the Persian, the most wealthy. It receives continual accessions until it reaches Damascus, where it is finally formed for the purpose of crossing the desert. It may well be supposed that such an idle troop can bring no advantage to the state whence they march; although they give importance and support to the city of the prophet.

There are several factories at Scutari for the manufacturing of silks and cottons, the former of which are unrivalled in the markets of Europe. The superiority of Turkish silk is attributed to the manner in which the worms are fed, they being supplied with the leaves still on the branches. There was also here formerly a spacious printing office, established in 1727, but destroyed by the janizaries in 1808. Dr. Walsh informs us that Greek and Armenian presses were established in Constantinople as early as 1530. Since the destruction of that at Scutari, printing had been done away with entirely in Turkey, till its re-establishment by sultan Mahmud, to which we have already referred. The Koran has always been excepted from among the few books which have been printed, because, as the ulema declared, it would be impious to offer the violence of press-work to the word of God.

Manufactures and the arts generally are in a low state in Turkey, owing, doubtless, in a great measure, to its government, and



also to the character of the people. Whatever reforms Mahmud has effected, it must be conceded that they have all referred to the strengthening of his empire against the invaders, and to the revival of the ancient spirit of the Turks, rather than to any distinct advancement in the arts of civilization, although such has been the means, and indirectly the result. The well-known apathy of the Turks in regard to the improvements among their Christian neighbours, and the inveterate prejudices of the ulema, seem to be insurmountable obstacles to any high cultivation of the arts. A considerable field, however, for an advantageous commerce exists; and must continue as long as the policy of the present sultan is pursued. There is already a thriving trade in American cottons, which the English have found to their interest to imitate and throw into the market to supply the demand.

"The reputation of our domestic manufactures, I was aware, had extended over our own vast southern continent; but I was not prepared to find that it had penetrated the regions of the grand seignior. They are in great request here; but it was difficult to ascertain the quantity annually consumed. The article termed sheetings usually sells at ten cents a yard, all charges paid. Our chief trade with Turkey consists in what are termed colonial produce; to wit, sugar, coffee, and rum; but there is great room for the introduction of our home manufactures. Cheap furniture of all kinds, such as are shipped to South America, would find a ready sale here; cut nails would also, after a certain period, be a valuable article of commerce. The credit of our cotton stuffs is much impaired by the immense quantities of a counterfeit article with which the English manufacturers have deluged the market: they are put up precisely like our own, and bear the stamp of some well known American establishment.

"Our imports are opium and other drugs, raw and manufactured silks, and latterly, considerable quantities of wool. The amount of opium annually raised in Turkey is estimated at 252,000 lbs.; of this, 1500 cases or bags of 140 lbs. each are purchased by government, and about 300 bags more are smuggled. It is unfortunate for the true interests of Turkey, that her silk is also a government monopoly, which, of course, renders it a precarious article of commerce. The quantity annually taken off by us, we have no means of judging, but we learn that it is upon the increase. Wool is becoming an article of great importance; and when more attention is paid to the sorting and cleaning, the demand will doubtless increase. Shipments of this article have become very extensive to the United States within the present year. The port of Constantinople is exceedingly safe for shipping, and the charges are very low, not exceeding forty or fifty dollars for a vessel of 200 tons. The greatest drawback upon its trade is caused by the delays incident to passing the Hellespont and Bosphorus: these might be obviated by a line of tug steamboats, managed by individuals or the government. The duties upon foreign articles are mere trifles, and have been so managed that it will be almost impossible to raise them.

"There is a slight difference between the duties laid upon the goods of foreign nations; Russia pays the least, and in return taxes the productions of Turkey the highest; besides excluding her entirely from the recently captured province of Mingrelia, except at two ports—Redout Kalay and Anapa. Our goods pay at present, until the treaty shall be ratified, a duty of three per cent, and 15 per cent besides upon the whole amount of the three per cent duty. By the new treaty the duty on coffee is about one mill the lb., on sugars  $4\frac{1}{2}$  cents per cent, on cottons per piece  $3\frac{1}{2}$  cents.

"Although our present trade with Turkey does not take off a great amount of our own products, yet there is little doubt but that a great increase must ultimately take place. Since by our treaty the navigation of the Black Sea is laid open, a new field for enterprise is before us, and new sources of wealth displayed. The commerce with Persia, for instance, will at some future day be a matter of much consequence. Our enterprising rivals, the English, have already entered upon this new career, and are now prosecuting a successful trade through the sea port of Trebizond. Goods sent in this direction to Persia, should be put up in small bales, weighing 150 lbs. each; four of these make a camel's load. The direct trade with Russia through the Black Sea has not yet proved a source of much profit, but it can hardly fail of being extensively carried on in future. An intercourse in this direction will not be subject to interruptions from the winter season, but may be carried on at all periods of the year.

"There is another and more important point of view in which this trade is to be regarded. We allude to the carrying trade between the ports of Turkey, Russia and Italy, which is now chiefly in the hands of the Greeks and Austrians, and is said to give continual employment to two thousand vessels. Some French, English and Italian vessels are engaged in this trade, but their number is inconsiderable. The French trade at the Levant, at one time, exceeded that of any other nation, but has been gradually on the decline. It is said to be even less at present than our own. Her exports to Smyrna alone, only amount to \$150,000, and last year she imported from that place only \$900,000. This falling off is attributed by all intelligent merchants to her severe quarantine, which of course must also operate to the prejudice of her carrying trade. The Greek and Russian vessels manned by Greeks, will of course be formidable rivals: but however active they may be, it is generally acknowledged that they are but indifferent sailers, and their voyages are consequently much protracted."—Pp. 191. 195.

These views may appear sanguine to some; yet they are sustained by facts familiar to every one who is acquainted with the commerce of the Mediterranean. We do not think, however, that either branch of this trade would be easily acquired. England would not see our merchants monopolizing a most advantageous commerce without a struggle; besides, those nations which are already engaged in it, possess such advantages of proximity and acquaintance with the trade, that it would only be by strenuous effort and experience that they could be supplanted. Nice calculations, like those which our author has furnished us in regard to the relative merits and expenses of the vessels of those nations and our own, are always to be taken with much allowance. In a competition with Austrian vessels, for instance, those data upon which he proceeds as to the length of the passages made by their vessels would be found to vary, and that against us. As a commercial nation, Austria is young and ambitious; and the astonishing rapidity with which she has built up her trade, shows how much she could and would do in an effort of rivalry.

Russia would probably look favourably to any extension of trade in the Black Sea. The wants of her empire are great, and it would manifestly be to her interest. Her own marine is insignificant, and under present circumstances must continue so. Her disposition as to this country was made evident in the assistance

which she rendered us in the formation of our treaty with the Porte.

The Turks themselves, or rather the grand seignior, has awakened to the necessity of a maritime exertion to replenish his impoverished empire. By degrees shorn of many of their richest dependencies, its people have sorely felt the deficiencies which have been thereby experienced. The czar pressing it hard on the north, and the rebellious pachas curtailing its resources in the south and east, have latterly thrown Turkey upon its own internal means, which can never be fully developed without an extension of its commercial relations. The policy of sultan Mahmud has been partially, at least, thus directed. The changes, however, which take place so frequently among the Turks, and the short-sighted views which seem in general to characterize them, allow little hope for permanency in the designs which he has so wisely begun, and which certainly tend to the reparation of his falling kingdom.

The revenues of Turkey are not very great, and are the source of abundant oppression upon the provinces. The grand secret of collecting taxes by such methods as will be least directly felt, has not yet been discovered by the government, but all the evils of immediate taxation, farmed out to inferior officers, whose sole object is to enrich themselves, are in full operation. The pacha of each district is responsible for the tenth of all produce, the part which is granted to the sultan by the Koran. Upon a requisition from the government he issues his mandate to the agas or governors of the villages, to levy the tax. The pacha has purchased his office, and his first object is to reimburse himself. The demand of government upon this pachalik may be \$60,000. He thereupon proclaims that a sum equivalent to this amount and such other as may be necessary for his own purposes, say, in all, \$80,000, is to be raised. The subordinate governors, pursuing the same plan, swell the amount to \$150,000, and set about collecting it. But this is not the only imposition. There is another in the manner of collecting the tax, which is usually paid in the form of produce. After it is thus secured, the pacha publishes his decree that no produce be sold except to himself. He of course regulates the price, and makes such profits as he chooses. So monstrous a system, it may well be supposed, cannot be patiently endured, even by devout Musselmens; and the numerous insurrections which are yearly taking place throughout the dominions of the grand seignior are nothing but disturbances caused by the oppressions of the tax-gatherer.

The heratch or capitation tax is levied upon those subjects who are not of the faithful. Besides this tax, they pay another in lieu of the tithes, amounting to about ten per cent on their earnings. The whole amount thus raised is considerable; although we do



not accord with our author in estimating, upon the authority of Hassel, the amount of this population at six millions. Any calculation upon such a datum would enlarge the revenue to an amount altogether inconsistent with the fact. The mode which is adopted to raise this tax is not generally different from that employed to raise those to which we have before referred.

"In one of the pachaliks I was informed, by a Jew, that his nation alone, in a single town, paid 100,000 piastres annually for this tax, besides other exactions dependent upon the whim and caprice of the local authorities. For instance, upon the arrival of a new merigee or governor, his nation were admitted to the high honour of feasting and entertaining, for three days, his excellency, and this usually cost them about 25,000 piastres. The Greeks and Armenians take their turn in entertaining and paying, in the same manner. I was told by a person who had the best right to be informed on the subject, that in one of the provincial towns permission had been granted by the governor to a rajah to dock out and build upon the water, exacting, of course, a valuable consideration for the permission. Shortly after the captain pacha, or his agent, entered the port and inquired by what authority encroachments were made on his domain, for he is understood to exercise all dominion and power over every spot washed by the sea, when the unfortunate rajah, to save his property, was again compelled to pay a handsome fee to the captain pacha. These are not solitary cases of oppression exercised over the rajahs, and it is really marvellous that they can exist under it; but exist they do, and appear to be quite as prosperous as their torpid Turkish masters. I have frequently asked those Greeks, Armenians and Jews why they would persist in remaining in a country where the fruits of their industry were so severely and often so capriciously taxed? The usual answer was, that they would be compelled to pay taxes any where, and that, after all, there was no such country on the face of the globe as their own. They are, it seems, willing slaves, and it is only when smarting under the recent infliction of a tax that they think of murmuring against their masters. It was stated that the government have laboured zealously, for the last few years, to lighten the burdens upon the rajahs, and to correct the many errors which arise from the unjust and impolitic mode of collecting the revenue. This measure is, of course, vehemently opposed by the pachas and other high officers, and it requires the most vigorous and decided measures to carry it into execution."—Pp. 209, 210.

Of the topography of Turkey our information is very limited. Travellers have visited the western and northern parts of the European territory; and with the exception of the Morea and the country adjacent to Constantinople, Turkey remains, topographically, to be described. This is satisfactorily accounted for by a distinguished traveller, to whom we are indebted for the mite of information which we do possess in regard to this neglected district. "The only roads," says he, "are beaten pathways, made by one horseman and travelled by another, and every man may make one for himself if he pleases. The only carriages are wooden planks, laid upon rough wheels, called arubahs, drawn with cords by buffaloes, which are seldom used except for burthens. The only inns are large stables, where nothing is to be had but chopped straw. The only suppers are what you may pick up on

the road, if you are so fortunate, and bring to where you stop for the night, and the only beds are the chopped straw in the stable, or a deal board in the cock-loft over it; and even this in many places is not to be had."\* Scenes like these are certainly uninviting to such of our modern travellers as put themselves to little inconvenience in their researches; and by such unfortunately has this country, in general, been visited. We regret that the writer of the volume before us has done nothing to supply the deficiency of which we complain, a task which his candour, intelligence and descriptive powers equally fitted him to prosecute well.

It is a question latterly of not a little interest, as to what are the natural defences of the Turks against their enemies. They themselves have always considered the Balkan range as an insurmountable barrier against invasion from the north; and have therefore directed their attention to the erection of fortifications along the approaches from the sea. These have been built at an enormous expense, and with a full view to the maritime strength of the different Christian powers. The guns which are mounted in the various forts along the Dardanelles do not vary much from a thousand in number. The success of the English admiral in passing the formidable array thus presented, has only stimulated the government to further exertions; though it may still be a question whether these fortifications would be available against a powerful fleet aided by a land force. The late difficulties with Russia have demonstrated that the Balkan does not constitute so impregnable a defence as has hitherto been supposed.

Russia is the great foe of the Porte,—its natural enemy, if there be any propriety in this phrase of diplomatists. The Turkish possessions in Europe are necessary to complete the great scheme of power and dominion which was planned by Catharine the Second, and which has been pursued by her successors. They are necessary to complete the grand arch which the czars have contemplated to throw from the arctic to the Mediterranean. With a sea boundary on the latter, Russia would be invincible, and first among nations; without it, she really holds only a secondary rank. All her plans have accordingly had this object in view; and from the partial success which has attended them, it is not too much to anticipate, unless the vigorous measures of Mahmud infuse new life into the whole Ottoman system, that at no very distant day the standard of the autocrat will wave over the walls of Constantinople.

After leaving the Dardanelles, our author coasted among the islands on the eastern part of the Archipelago, in an open boat, commanded by "a grave, gray-bearded Turk, who rejoiced in the name of Ali. Six stout followers of the prophet," says he, "form-

\* Walsh's "Journey from Constantinople to England."

ed the crew, and they were to row us, if necessary, two hundred and fifty or three hundred miles, for the enormous sum of twenty dollars. It was a queer rigged craft, and albeit no seaman, I felt some misgivings when I observed that there were no less than five different ways of taking in the mainsail." His account of his voyaging among the Greek islands is very amusing and interesting, and affords a favourable specimen of his light style of writing. The following extract relates to Mytilene. He had arrived at the island at about four o'clock in the morning, and had immediately repaired to a coffee-house, where, as of course, clouds of tobacco smoke and scores of somnolent and sleeping Turks were encountered.

"The lively coffee-house keeper, a Greek, was, however, wide awake, and we were quickly served with his refreshing beverage; and tucking our heels under us, we were speedily contributing to the clouds of smoke which almost obscured the ceiling of the room. Our captain (Ali) and his first lieutenant (Buyuk Sadi, or, as we translated it, Big Ben,) here met some old acquaintances, and we were not a little diverted by the complete stoicism which the interview between long-severed friends exhibited. The mutual salutations of *Saba hy allah*, *Kay pheneezamy*, &c. were soon exchanged, and profound silence ensued, interrupted only by the stentorous sipping of coffee, and the gurgling bubble of the water in the crystal narghilay. After a half-hour's pause, Osman said inquiringly, 'You are from the town of Pottery, Ali?' A short grunt was all that Ali deigned to utter; but it was, of course, understood by the querist. A pause of longer duration ensued, when Ali began,—'Coffee is very dear; what is the reason the Giaours don't bring us more?' 'Inshallah (please God), we shall have more in good time,' responded his friend; and here I thought the conversation was fully at an end; but after some time Ali inquired,—'Is the loaf as large and as white as ever in your island?' 'Mushallah,' (God is great,) replied Osman, 'we don't complain.' This is positively the entire substance, word for word, of an interview which lasted for nearly two hours. Two Frenchmen would have out-talked, two Englishmen would have out-bragged, or two Yankees would have out-witted each other in less than half the time.

"With the first glimpse of dawn we left the coffee-house to take a hasty glance of Mytilene, once the scene of some of the labours of the first and greatest apostle of christianity. The streets partake of the usual narrow character found in all the cities of the Levant. They were, however, perfectly clean; and the houses being built of stone, appeared to us, who had been accustomed to the wooden structures of Constantinople, to be of a superior order. Our rambles were directed towards a hill which overhung the town, and which is crowned with a battery, apparently of great extent. From this eminence we could ascertain that the town of Mytilene is built on a peninsula, and has in fact two harbours,—one on the north, which is comparatively deserted, and one on the south, which contains nearly all the shipping. It was by this latter that we entered. The castle near which we stood, was one of the innumerable works which those enterprising fellows, the Genoese, contrived to plant in so many places in the Mediterranean. In the harbour we noticed a pretty little ten-gun brig, just launched, and a fifty-four-gun frigate, nearly completed, on the stocks. The arsenal, or navy-yard, appeared to be very extensive.

"The town of Mytilene contains about a thousand houses; and to judge by the people, more than a quarter consists of Turks, the remainder being Greeks. The island is about forty miles by twenty in breadth, and contains fifty vil.



lages of various sizes. Its population is estimated at 20,000, of which more than 15,000 are Greeks. It contains several commodious ports, one of which, Port Oliver, is remarkable for its size, and as affording an excellent anchorage for vessels of the largest size, protected from all winds.

"At nine o'clock we returned to our little craft, and while our crew were making preparations for departure, my attention was called to a scene which, I am told, is not unusual in Greece. A fishing-boat had just arrived, and was lying about ten feet from the wharf, which was crowded with people. Handkerchiefs, baskets, and other missiles were flying to and fro between the wharf and boat; and upon inquiry, I was informed that this was the usual manner in which fish or other commodities are vended among the Greeks. The money was tied up in a handkerchief and thrown on board; the value in fish was returned in the same way; and the cautious distance between the boat and wharf was preserved, in order to prevent them from coming on board to steal; and this, too, in ancient Lesbos, the birth place of Alceus and Terpander, one of

'The isles of Greece, the isles of Greece,  
Where burning Sappho loved and sung.'—Pp. 471. 473.

Of the literary execution of the work before us, it is to be observed that there are instances where it might be improved. The introduction of portions of the author's journal into the text of the narrative is the cause of an unpleasant commixture of past and present; while, at the same time, owing to the same cause, there occur repetitions of the same fact. These are, however, but minor blemishes in a volume that is written with more fairness, and embraces a greater variety of information than any work with which we are acquainted, upon the present condition of the Ottoman empire and the character of its people.

Our author writes like a well-informed gentleman and enlightened observer. His style is natural and copious—his narrative frequently relished by poignant remarks and allusions. He describes and analyzes exceedingly well, institutions, manners and customs. His book has throughout a character of originality—not because his topics are new—but from the freshness and vivacity with which they are treated, and particularly because he represents the Turks in lights so favourable, that we are reminded of captain Hall's account of the immaculate nature and beatific condition of the Loo Choo communities. When we find the Turks designated as "a kind, simple-hearted, and virtuous people,"—when we find all comparisons between them and the Christians, in their favour—we wonder at the illusions under which we and the Christian world have always before thought and spoken on those points. Our author's 26th chapter is not likely to edify or please any part of that world. His antipathy to the Greeks, ancient and modern, appears as strong as his partiality for the Turks; to the Greeks he gives no quarter. His historical account and critical opinion of the battle of Navarino owe their complexion, in a measure, to those feelings. We think it due to our estimable author and our readers to give additional specimens of the kind of description, an-

ecdote and information by which his book is recommended, and we therefore present the following excerpts, taken *passim*:

*Tenedos*.—"At the door, we met with and were formally introduced to the English consul. It has been our lot to meet with queer specimens of mortality in the shape of American consuls in various parts of the world, and more particularly in the Mediterranean, where they have been scattered about by our naval commanders with an unsparing hand. But an English consul being generally more carefully selected, and always better paid, is a totally different personage. Our surprise, then, may be well imagined, when, in the person of the English consul, we were made acquainted with a ragged, dirty old man, with a long grizzly beard, and looking not unlike an old-clothesman. He was habited in the Greek costume; his feet disdained the vulgar incumbrances of shoes or stockings, and he carried with a very consular air a dozen fowls in one hand and a basket of eggs in the other. His name was Il Signor C—, of Venetian descent, and he had been born and brought up on the island: he spoke Greek, Turkish, and a most appalling jargon which passed for Italian; it need scarcely be added, that of English he was profoundly ignorant. I inquired of him what were the usual occupations of the inhabitants. 'Making wine,' was the reply. 'But that only occupies two months; what do you do during the remaining ten months of the year?'—'Aspettano, signor! they wait, sir!'"

*Constantinople*.—"Upon our return we were induced by curiosity to enter a Turkish eating-house. The chief article of food is pilaff, or boiled rice and mutton, which is much finer flavoured than any I ever tasted in America. Ascending a high platform, we crossed our legs with becoming gravity, and had the pleasure of seeing our dinner cooked before our eyes. The mutton is cut up into small pieces of the size of a quarter of a dollar. A spit, not much larger than a darning-needle, is thrust through a dozen of these bits; and when the required number is prepared, the spits are placed over a charcoal fire. They are roasted in this way very expeditiously. A soft, blackish cake of rye, previously browned, is placed upon a large tinned plate of copper; melted grease, with finely chopped herbs, is poured over the cake, and the miniature mutton-chops, or *kebaubs*, are scraped off upon the copper; over the whole is poured a quantity of sour milk; and the dish is then prepared for eating. It was placed upon a small stool, about six inches high, before us; and as knives or forks were, of course, out of the question, we ate with our fingers, after the fashion of the ancient Romans. We found the kebaub to be a most savoury dish; and, notwithstanding the absence of forks, we contrived to make a hearty meal. Water was afterwards presented, with towels and soap, to wash our hands and beards; and a large goblet of clear iced water concluded the repast."

"*Buyukdery* is a European colony. It lies very prettily along the borders of a large bay formed by one of the sinuosities of the Bosphorus. It looks out upon the Black Sea, from whence it is six miles distant, and from the prevailing style of architecture, it might readily be taken for an Italian marine villa. It is inhabited chiefly by foreign ministers, and the various bobs to the tail of the diplomatic kite in the shape of *jeunes de langues*, dragomen, secretaries, aide interprètes, &c. &c. Since the fire at Pera, the ministers have made this their permanent residence; and the same formality, the same insipidity, and the same dull round of etiquette, varied by *ombres chinoises* and *écarté*, which formerly characterized Pera, is said to have been transplanted to *Buyukdery*. The occupations of its inhabitants have been concisely described by a lively French writer. 'Souvent on s'observe ou plutôt on s'épie. Après s'être mutuellement fatigué d'intrigues, de delations, on s'isole, on se renferme.'

"We succeeded in obtaining lodgings; and whatever may have been the minor vexations or inconveniences which we suffered in our new abode, they were certainly mitigated in the feeling that we were actually living in a palace. I have undoubtedly fared better in a German posthouse, a French auberge, or an English tavern, but then these were very common, everyday affairs, whereas, a palace, to an American ear at least, conveys the idea of something very magnificent and ethereal. Our palace is delightfully situated on the water's edge, and from the terrace we may amuse ourselves with angling. The large court is filled with orange, lemon, and rose trees, and that universal favourite of the Turk, the oleander, which here grows to the height of fifteen or twenty feet, and bears exposure to the open air during the whole winter. Connected with this is a garden of about ten acres, beautifully laid out in walks shaded by hornbeam and myrtles, the whole forming a succession of terraces, from the uppermost of which we look over our palace and enjoy a superb view of the Bosphorus. In the evening the bushes and groves resound with the notes of the nightingale, which give a poetic character to the scene."

"A common article of food among these people, and a delicious one it is, is yaoort, or curdled milk. It is prepared in a peculiar manner, and is so far superior to any thing of the kind with us, that it would be well worth annexing to our culinary list. It is prepared by pouring a quart of boiled milk upon the yeast of beer, and allowing it to ferment. Take of this a spoonful and a half and pour on it another quart; after a few repetitions it loses the taste of yeast, and becomes a very palatable and savory food\* The Turks have a tradition that an angel taught Abraham how to make it, and that Hagar made the first good pot of it."

*Fires at Constantinople.*—"There are causes enough to account for the frequency of these conflagrations, to be found in the ordinary habits and practices of the people, without the necessity of adopting the belief that they are always the effect of design. Every Turk (with the exception of the sultan himself) smokes his chibook night and day, and his fire is knocked out without the least care. If the floor is matted, the straw material is amply sufficient to nourish the flame, and if not covered, the joints between the planks are generally open enough to receive a coal of fire, and at midnight the family are awakened by the blaze of their dwelling. I have frequently observed coopers, cabinet-makers, and other mechanics, smoking their chibooks, and knocking out the embers among the shavings and other combustible materials, with all the indifference which may be supposed to denote an every-day occurrence.

"These frequent fires cause much anxiety to the government; they have all occurred within too short a time to be the result of accident, and it has been remarked that they arise in the very spot where, from the direction of the wind, they are likely to do the most mischief. Thus, when the palace of the captain pacha was burnt a few days ago, if the wind had not suddenly shifted, the whole of the Ottoman fleet then at the arsenal would have fallen a prey to the flames. One of the diplomatic people, who is well acquainted with the interior of the government, informs me that five hundred persons are now in prison under suspicion of being concerned in these fires. It is, however, a matter of extreme difficulty to ascertain the exact truth; for, in fertility of invention, and disregard of facts, the gossip of foreigners here may well compare with our own newspapers during a contested election."

\* "In order to prepare the milk for use, take a teaspoonful of the yaoort, bruise it with a spoon, and pour on it a quart of lukewarm milk, and set it aside in an earthen vessel: it will be fit for use in the course of an hour or two. It appears to be the same article mentioned by Strabo (lib. vii.) in use among the Tartars of the Crimea, and called by him *οζυγδαλι*."



*Honesty.*—"Returning home this evening at a late hour, I observed many persons asleep on mats, in the open air, before their respective shops, which were lit up, and apparently ready to receive customers. This affords a pleasing evidence of the good faith and honesty of the people. I have noticed a similar circumstance in the bazaars and shops of the metropolis. In these places, during the day, if the shopman wishes to step out, or to indulge himself in a nap, he ties a string across the door, or throws a cloth over a few articles near the street, and this signifies that the shop is shut, a hint which is universally understood and respected. If you purchase an article, the seller of course endeavours to obtain the highest price; but the Turkish dealer shows much more conscience than his Jewish or Christian neighbours. When a piece of money is put into his hands to change, he returns the whole amount, and leaves it to the purchaser to deduct the price of the article. When it is recollected that the money of this empire is counterfeited to a great extent, the honesty of this procedure is apparent; he not only confides in your good faith, but exhibits his own in no small degree."

*Turkish College.*—"The scene around us was of an interesting character. There were some fifty or sixty young men in the room, some of whom were apparently from twenty to twenty-five, while others were mere lads of fifteen. Many, from their uniforms, were recognized as officers in different corps of the army. They were all seated in various positions on the floor, and had their papers before them, copying literally after the dictation of the lecturer. The oriental manner of writing differs so materially from ours, that a short notice of it may not be unacceptable. The paper is very stout, and is highly glazed, at least on one side. The pupil holds his paper (which, if a large sheet, is doubled) partly in the palm of his left hand, and this occasionally rests on the left knee. The pens are made of a species of reed, and are cut with a broad nib. The oriental mode of writing it is well known is from right to left, and of course the reverse of our own. Notwithstanding the apparently awkward position of the writer, and the rude writing materials, the characters were evenly and distinctly traced by the pupils, and some of their notes might have been exhibited as fair specimens of calligraphy. An inkstand of singular shape is attached to their belt, and contains such pens as are not in use. In several of their manuscripts I remarked that the lines, although parallel with each other, were not horizontal, but ascending in a slanting direction towards the left corner of the page. This I take to be a mere fancy, although I have noticed the same oblique direction of the characters on some of their tombstones."

"I have been much struck upon various occasions with the modest demeanour and simplicity of character of the young Turks, and their eagerness to acquire information. Their national shyness and reserve are the only serious obstacles to their rapid acquisition of knowledge. French and Italian are now commonly taught in their higher schools, and the knowledge of a foreign language, so far from being as in former times a reproach, is now quite a distinction in Turkey. The library contained a pair of large globes, various models of useful machines, and several philosophical instruments. The walls were covered with many paltry coloured English prints of the battle of Prague and other military engagements of that period."

*Language.*—"The Turkish is a Tartar dialect full of soft vowel sounds, and when well spoken falls very agreeably upon the ear. It is characterized by an accomplished scholar as being inferior to no ancient or modern tongue in softness, flexibility, or harmony; and its rules are so admirably simple, that we should rather suppose them to have been framed by an academy of learned men, than by a society consisting of wandering and pastoral tribes. Its total dissimilarity from any European language renders its acquirement no easy

task, and I have met with but four Europeans who have succeeded in mastering its difficulties. They had all, however, been born and brought up in the country, and acquired the language in the natural way before they began to study the alphabet. There are thirty-three letters in this alphabet, of which twenty-nine are derived from the Arabic, three from the Persian, and one peculiar to the Turkish. Of these, thirty are always consonants, one alone is always a vowel, and four are occasionally vowels or consonants. It will be readily perceived that from the absence of vowels, one must have some idea of the word before he can pronounce it, and it is not until he has pronounced it that he can be certain of its meaning. These are, however, difficulties common to all the languages of the East, but there are others almost peculiar to the Turkish. The thirty-three characters stand in the alphabet as they are to be written when not connected with any other; but the moment we commence writing a word, the form of each character is altered, and this change takes place in three different ways from its primitive form: 1, before and after another character; 2, after another character, but not joined to it; and 3, at the end of words. These changes are sometimes effected by simple dots or scratches, but are often so material as entirely to alter the form of the character.

"It results from these changes that the alphabet consists of 109 distinct characters; to say nothing of divers fanciful *ad libitum* flourishes, depending upon the taste of the writer. And to these we may add, as obstacles in the way of the learner, that there are neither paragraphs nor any sort of punctuation; and that their fine writers are in the habit of interlarding every sentence with pure Arabic and Persian words, which are difficult to reduce to the rules of Turkish syntax. The Persian poets and Arabic philosophers are quoted with the same facility that a well-educated European or American refers to the classical authorities of Greece or Rome. The best Turkish writers carry this affectation so far, that the language of their books is quite distinct from that of ordinary conversation. At the end of this work the reader will find an outline of the elements of the language, with a brief vocabulary, which, as it is the first attempt with which I am acquainted in our own language, will, I apprehend, be found of service to those who may have occasion to visit Turkey."

*Sultan.*—"We were sitting this evening in the court of our palace, inhaling the perfume of the orange and myrtles around us, and watching the progress of the full-orbed moon as she threw her rays over the gently-roughened waves of the Bosphorus, when the regular plunge of many oars announced the approach of a barge belonging to some personage of distinction. We were not left long in doubt as to the personage in question; for immediately a band of music struck up a spirit-stirring air, and from our little coterie the exclamation arose in various tongues, "The sultan is coming." The first boat, rowed by ten oars, contained, in fact, the sultan, accompanied by one or two officers of his court; and the second, which was much larger, bore a full band of musicians, and was brilliantly lit up, in order to enable them to see their notes.

"As the gay cortège approached, the imperial caïk suddenly diverged from its course, and steered directly for the court in which our party were assembled. For a moment we imagined that we were to be honoured by a royal visit—a circumstance of no unusual occurrence,—and great was the consequent bustle and flutter among the ladies of our party at the idea of such an unexpected honour. The imperial barge approached so near that we could readily discern the person of the sultan, half-reclined upon a sumptuous cushion; although the indistinctness of the moonlight prevented us from examining his features. As he approached, a slight movement of the helm sent the caïk almost grazing the marble steps of our court, and his majesty surveyed us, or, perhaps I should rather say, the ladies of our party, with

apparently as much earnestness as we endeavoured to trace the features of the absolute monarch of so many millions of human beings. The procession passed on, sweeping along the crowded quay of Buyukdery; and the last seen of it was near Therapia, where for two or three weeks past the sultan has taken up his residence. In these excursions it is always understood that he is incognito, and it would be considered a great breach of decorum to recognize him by look or gesture.

"During the warm months he resides at different times in the various palaces which are situated on the Bosphorus, and frequently spends his evenings in aquatic excursions like the one we have just noticed. His habits are described as of the simplest kind, and his amusements consist chiefly in riding, fishing, and exercising with the bow. He is said to be the most graceful and fearless rider in his dominions—an accomplishment which may fairly be weighed against those of some of his brother potentates, who are at the head of all the civilization of Europe;—one of whom has been known to kill a wild boar, when securely tied up, at the distance of twenty paces,—and the chief merit of another, as awarded to him by his subjects, consisted in making the most perfectly graceful bow of any man in his kingdom.

"Like all his subjects, the sultan is extremely temperate in eating; and his establishment is far from being on that expensive and magnificent scale which we are accustomed to attribute to oriental courts. I have been assured by an officer of his household, that the expenses of his table rarely exceed ten piastres, or about fifty cents a day; and from various anecdotes which I have elsewhere heard, I should not be disposed to believe that his annual expenses exceed those of the President of the United States."

*Turkish Doctor.*—"But let us not leave the pretty village of Kavawki without noticing its principal street, which faces the pebbly margin of the Bosphorus. A row of arbours extends along in front of the houses, shaded by the wide-spreading platanus, while over the arbours hangs the luxuriant vine, loaded with the finest grapes. While taking our coffee and pipes under one of these arbours, the total absence of Greeks around us enabled us to comprehend the general quietude and repose of the Turkish character. Although the port and every harbour was filled with Turks, some engaged in selling watermelons from huge piles upon the beach, others in playing a sort of game of draughts with pebbles, and others enjoying a dreamy existence over their pipes, yet scarcely a sound was heard to interrupt the tinkling of several fountains which poured forth their grateful streams around us. While enjoying this novel scene, and looking out upon the now placid bosom of the Bosphorus, over the curiously shaped and rigged vessels from the Asiatic shores of the Black Sea, with their bows resting upon the sandy beach, we were much amused with a village-doctor who entered our harbour, and commenced, with becoming gravity, a part of the labours of his profession. As this was the first specimen of a Turkish M.D. that we had seen, his avocations naturally attracted our notice. He first extracted from a small bag, which he carried in his girdle, a white powder resembling magnesia, but which may possibly have been an equally valuable article—wheat flour. With this he commenced making pills, occasionally dipping it into a little shell containing some coloured water, and then rolling it out upon the bench. Like Abernethy, he seemed to depend upon the efficacy of a single pill, and, in all probability, his cures were as frequent as those of that unpolished physician. The satisfied air and manner of this village Esculapius entertained us exceedingly, as he proceeded to wrap up the pills, in papers containing a half-dozen each; and then, drawing forth his long brass inkstand, he marked each paper with some cabalistic characters, which of course enhanced the value of its contents. A troop of Turkish boys were surveying his operations with much interest, and whenever one of the pills happened to drop out of his hands, there was a general rush for it among



the little urchins, and the lucky dog who seized it swallowed it immediately and ran off with all speed beyond the uplifted staff of the doctor. It would seem that if his pills did no good, they could do little harm, which is more than can be said of many articles of the *materia medica*."

*The Throne.*—"To some inquiries touching the succession in case of failure in the present reigning family, we learned to our great astonishment that the nearest heir to the throne, and the validity of whose claim would be acknowledged by the Turks themselves, was an old classmate in Edinburgh.

"Among the odd characters assembled in 1818 and 1819 within the gloomy lecture-rooms of that venerable university, from various quarters of the globe, was a queer fish, familiarly known under the name of Kitty. He sported on his cards 'Sultan Gerry, Krim Gerry, Kitty Gerry and of Caucasus,' and was remarkable for the astounding English in which he clothed his oriental ideas. He was represented to us as having been a Mussulman converted to Christianity, and sent at the expense of the Emperor of Russia to be initiated into the learning of the West. He was a very inoffensive man, with great simplicity of character, and a much more attentive student than many of us who amused ourselves with his peculiarities. It was considered an excellent joke among the profane to invite honest Kitty to tea under the pretence of discussing literary matters. The conversation would sooner or later diverge to religious subjects, and particularly to the comparative morality of the Christian and Mohammedan belief. Some would jestingly espouse the cause of Mohammed, while poor Kitty would work himself into a perfect fever in defending his adopted religion. During this discussion, wine, or rather potent Fairtosh, would be introduced, and Kitty, although by education and habit exceedingly temperate, would partake of the passing cup. As the genial liquid began to exercise its influence, his fervour increased, and a hint that he was as abstemious as a Mussulman would inevitably compel him to toss off another bumper as a pledge of his orthodoxy. The steadfastness of his faith, increased as the steadiness of his gait diminished, and when every thing around him looked double, he would the more vehemently defend the doctrines of the Trinity.

"I have since learned that he married a Scotch lassie, much against the wishes of her family, and took her with him to Russia, where he now resides. He is a lineal descendant of the ancient khans of the Crimea, and we were informed by one of the officers of government here, that in default of male issue in the present royal line, he will certainly be called to the Ottoman throne. His immediate predecessor sold the sovereignty of the Crimera to Russia, and he is now a dependant upon its bounty. That government, with their usual long-sighted policy, doubtless reserve him or some of his descendants in order to make a claim upon the Turkish throne, and fill it with one of their own vassals. This, however, unless some unusual calamity should befall the present royal dynasty, is scarcely a probable event; for, to judge by the loyal demonstrations of joy exhibited around us this day, a stranger would infer that the great bulk of the people are strongly attached to the reigning family."

"Furnished with an introduction, we called upon the drogoman of the Porte, and found him in a low room on the ground-floor, without a single article of furniture except the divan. His office is held in a large public building near the great gate of the seraglio, from whence it has probably derived its name. It is here that the councils of ministers (commonly called the divan) are held, and the reis effendi, or minister of foreign affairs, has also his office in this building. Hence it is the place where the ambassadors of foreign powers transact their business, and the term Porte has in consequence become synonymous with the government of the country, in the same

way that we speak of the closet or cabinet of St. James's or the Thuilleries. The word *Porte* is also expressive of an oriental metaphor, meaning strength, durability, and majesty, and hence we have the grandiloquent phrase 'The Sublime *Porte*.' The drogoman of the *Porte* is one of the most important and confidential officers of the government. Through him all foreign affairs are transacted with the *reis effendi*, and the importance of having a man of capacity and integrity in such a station is sufficiently obvious. It was formerly held by the Greeks of the Fanar, and was the usual stepping-stone to the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia. As we cast our eyes round the low, dark room, we felt assured that we stood in the identical apartment described by the author of *Anastasius* as the office of Prince Mavroyeni."

"According to an official statement, it appears that from the year 1822 to 1829 there were issued from the Malta printing-press 250,000 copies of various religious works, containing more than ten millions of pages in Greek, Italian, and Turkish with Armenian characters. It is a subject of regret that such benevolent efforts should in some instances have taken a wrong direction. Nearly forty thousand dollars have been expended upon works which are as unintelligible to the Greeks or Turks as a Pelham novel would be to 'Split Log' or 'the Black Hawk.' The remedy, however, is easy. Instead of translating the *Dairyman's Daughter*, and other tracts of a similar character, let the missionaries be instructed to compose, on the spot, short stories, filled with local allusions, and naturally arising out of the scenes and manners around them. Let them write something in the style of the *Arabian Nights*, always, however, with a moral end and aim, and they will be read with avidity."

*Turkish Music*.—"To judge by the specimens we had this evening, we should be disposed to characterize Turkish music as soft and harmonious, somewhat monotonous, and strongly marked by mannerism. The old Scotch air of Roslin Castle, played in quicker time and without pauses or rests, will convey a tolerable idea of the general character of Turkish music. A lad of fourteen accompanied the instruments with words which, we were informed, were loose verses. We asked for a patriotic, or what we call a national song, but was informed that none of this kind are extant in Turkey."

*Opium*.—"Most of the opium raised in Turkey comes from Asia, and particularly from the plains between Mount Olympus and Constantinople, in the region formerly known as the kingdom of Bithynia. Its culture is very simple, and requires no particular care. The green capsules of the plant are scarified with a knife, and the juice which exudes is left exposed to the sun one day before it is scraped off. This is the purest kind, and is used by the inhabitants on their holidays and festivals. Doctor Walsh, who has visited these opium districts, informs us, that although much is consumed on the spot, the inhabitants are notwithstanding a remarkably florid, healthy race. The ordinary opium of commerce is an inferior article, consisting of the inspissated juice of the poppy heads boiled down with the various foreign ingredients. The purer kind is termed *meslak* and *aphioon* by the Turks, and *opon* by the Greeks. This latter word signifies literally juice, and hence our word opium."

*Emirs*.—"Among the various costumes of Constantinople, the eyes of the traveller are naturally attracted by persons who still retain the ancient Turkish dress, and whose heads are still disfigured by immense turbans of various fantastic forms, but of one uniform green colour. These are the celebrated emirs, or descendants of Fatima, the daughter of the prophet, by Ali his disciple. Hence they are often called *Alidays*, or descendants of Ali. They have all genealogical charts to certify to the purity of their descent, but as

there is no regular officer to verify their claims, it is believed that many have crept into the order in an improper manner, although, if detected, they are liable to fine and imprisonment. The law of descent authorizes one to be an emir either by the side of his father or mother, and this explains why they are so numerous. It is supposed that they form a thirtieth part of the Ottoman population. An emir is entitled to much consideration and respect, and their rank gives them personal advantages in every career into which they may choose to enter. They have a chief called Nakeeb Eschraf, who exercises almost sovereign authority over them, and decrees all punishments. The existence of this body has no doubt powerfully contributed to keep alive the spirit of Islamism among the people."

*Climate.*—"Constantinople, it will be recollected, is nearly in the same parallel of latitude with New-York, but it enjoys a much finer climate; for orange trees live in the open air during the whole winter, and the olive is enabled to withstand the slight frosts which occasionally occur during that period of the year. The climate is truly delightful, and I know of no spot on the globe more healthy: situated between two seas, the sultry effects of the south winds are tempered in summer by the cool breezes from the Euxine; and on the other hand, during winter, the cold northern blasts are neutralized by the warm breezes from the Sea of Marmora and the Egean."

*National tardiness.*—"The ordinary business of life is conducted upon the principle that hasty decisions are incompatible with the exercise of sound judgment, and of the value of time the Turks do not appear to have the smallest fraction of an idea. Their favourite proverb, that 'in a cart drawn by oxen you may overtake a hare,' illustrates in a striking degree the dilatory habits of the people.

"To a bystander nothing can be more entertaining than the manner in which Turks settle, or, I should rather say, discuss the most urgent matters. The subject is examined and considered in all its bearings with acuteness, but nothing definite is determined upon except that both parties exclaim *Mashallah!* or, God is great. At the next interview the subject is again canvassed, and dismissed with *Inshallah!* if God pleases. The next interview terminates with *Allah kayrim!* or, God is merciful; but still nothing is decided upon. Another conference, if the business is of a very pressing nature, concludes with the important exclamation *Bakallum!* we shall see; and thus the business drags on from week to week, and from month to month, until positive necessity compels them to bring it to a rapid and often lame conclusion. This tardiness in business arises from no want of capacity, nor from indecision of character; but simply because they consider it indecorous to decide promptly. It is a part and parcel of the oriental character, and seems to be a sort of parody upon the *festina lente* of the Romans. But whatever may be the cause, its effects upon the empire are apparent. The wheels of government move slowly, and at times appear almost stopped. It requires no prophet to inform us that in a contest with any European nation, they will be infallibly beaten, unless more vigour and promptness are infused into their public councils. We feel some interest in the existence of Turkey as an independent nation, but at the same time cannot conceal our misgivings, that although now upheld by the conflicting interests of the various European powers, the time is not far distant when she will be crushed by the colossal power of Russia, and her fate will certainly be hastened, if not almost invited, by *Mashallah, Inshallah, and Bakallum.*"



ART. VI.—*Deux Ans de Regne*, 1830—1832.—Par ALPHONSE PEPIN, *Avocat*. Paris, 1833.

*Two Years of Reign*, 1830—1832.—By ALPHONSE PEPIN, *Advocate*. Paris, 1833.

THE predicament of that stalwart warrior, Theseus, in the perplexing labyrinth of King Minos, would certainly have been a very uncomfortable one, had it not been for the clue which was furnished him by the affection of poor Ariadne, whom he afterwards treated with ingratitude so shameful; but it could not have been more disagreeable, by any possibility, than that of the unfortunate wight who gets entangled, for his sins, in the mazes of French politics. What with the *côté droit*, the *côté gauche*, and the *juste milieu*; what with Republicans, Constitutionalists, Buonapartists, Carlists, Henry the Fifthists, and all the other *ists* that can be employed for a party designation; what with the innumerable conflicting speeches, books, paragraphs, vaudevilles, squibs, caricatures, running against and across each other, like so many eddies in a stream agitated by a blustering, shifting wind; what with the thousand and one interpretations, domestic and foreign, of every the most trifling incident that occurs in Paris; what with all these and various other puzzling circumstances, how is it possible for a sober-minded person to arrive at any satisfactory conclusion with regard either to passing or to passed events? *Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas*, indeed, in this case. It is not, therefore, our intention, in placing the above work at the head of this article, to make it the mere basis of any original speculations upon the condition of affairs in France, as might be supposed from the practice of our “contemporaries.” Our object is to provide a summary of its contents, in order to exhibit the side of the picture which the friends of the existing government desire to be contemplated; as we have already presented in the notice of Sarrans’ *Lafayette*, that which the opposition affirm to be the representation of the truth. The volume has excited considerable sensation in Paris, where it has been openly attributed, by the hostile party, to a loftier authorship than that of the advocate—to Louis Philippe himself,—and certain it is, that it contains assertions and statements of such a nature, that unless M. Pepin be the most audacious fabricator in the world, he must have received, directly or indirectly, the aid of that personage; and portions of it might well be supposed to be entirely the royal work. But on the whole, the style of argument smacks so strongly of the lawyer, that we should have no hesitation in believing the composition of the book to appertain to the ostensible author, especially as he has already evinced his propensity for the pen, in two publications upon ‘the Opposition

in 1831,' and 'the Barricades in 1832,' both of which, it appears, have reached a second edition. In his preface he assigns the same motive for writing as that which impelled the Roman satirist to pour forth his angry verses, springing, however, from a different source. A sincere admirer, he says, of the revolution of 1830, he would have continued a silent observer of its salutary developments, had not his indignation been excited by the injustice of those who for two years have been exerting all their efforts to calumniate and pervert it. He writes well, with a good deal of ingenuity, spirit, and force, and generally in a much less violent tone than M. Sarrans, whose work is greatly disfigured and weakened by the vituperation in which he has frequently indulged.

The object of M. Pepin is to defend the king; to prove that his government was founded, and has been exercised, with the entire approbation of the majority of the French; and at the same time, to dismount the hero of three revolutions from the elevated pedestal on which he has been placed by his secretary and panegyrist. He labours hard to show that Lafayette was neither more operative during the three days, nor more powerful after them, than his comrades in the glorious event, and particularly that he was by no means the main instrument in raising Louis Philippe to the throne.

The following is his own exposition of the end he has in view:

"The purpose of this book, which contains authentic documents, is to establish three facts. 1st. That France entire has wished the government of 1830, to which it has given its full adhesion, either openly or tacitly; and that consequently it is folly to pretend that the institution of the 7th of August was a patched and unpopular work, since at that epoch there was no material force capable of imposing a government upon the country against its will. 2d. That those who now declare themselves hostile to the monarchy of 1830, and to the monarchical principle, were the very first persons to desire the monarchical principle in 1830, and proclaim it with enthusiasm as indispensable for France, whose object in repulsing the ordinances of July was to preserve the charter. 3d. That not only the monarchy of the 7th of August, and the monarchical principle, but the system of government pursued to the present day, have been established and developed, with more or less energy, by those identical persons who now pretend to have always been the conscientious champions of a totally different order of things."

The first chapter is devoted to a retrospect of the last years of the restoration, in order to prove that there was a conspiracy of the emigrant party, with Charles the 10th at its head, against the liberties of the country; and that, therefore, they were the real cause of the revolution. From this it is argued, that the sole object of the people in resisting and expelling their monarch, was to preserve the charter whose safety was menaced—to maintain, not to alter, the nature of their government. On this point M.

Pepin is very earnest, as it is the corner-stone of his argument in support of the anti-movement system of Louis Philippe.

"After the popular victory, he says, certain men who had mixed themselves with the people, by whose aid the charter had conquered in the days of July, came in their turn to explain the victory. They undertook to teach France why the people had fought; they interpreted arbitrarily the revolution which had been accomplished in the name of the laws, telling the people that they were deceived in invoking the charter after as before the victory. These insensate or perverse men wished to arrogate to themselves the right of changing the futurity of France; and because war had been made on the 27th of July against the men who had conspired against the well-being of society, they desired also to make war upon things, calling that a logical following up of the consequences of July. They wished to put their hands upon society in order to direct it according to their pleasure. Thus, at Rome, the prætorians pretended to have the right of disposing of the empire because they had defended it against the barbarians.

"But if war has decided the matter, who is the conqueror, if it be not the charter? If victory has declared itself against the men of the past, where ought it to have stopped, if not at the idea represented by the charter, which had conquered? And if a monarch perished on account of having disregarded the charter, could the royalty guaranteed by the charter perish with the monarch? If a crown, fallen to the ground in the struggle of the three days, has been placed on a worthier head, who should be accused of having been wanting in logic? who have been guilty of inconsistency?—those who the first picked up this crown, and now will have nothing more to do with the principle in whose name victory was obtained, or those who wish to preserve intact the gage of the combat of the three days, that is to say, the charter, that is to say, the constitutional principle on which the royalty of July rests, which alone is capable of giving happiness to France, since it unites order and liberty together?"

Our author next gives a rapid but complete sketch of the occurrences of the three days, in which he discloses some new and interesting facts. His narrative of the various meetings of the deputies is highly interesting. He attributes to M. Delaborde and M. de Schonen the merit of having been the first of those possessing a public character to place themselves at the head of the opposition to the ordinances. He renders full justice to the ardour of the latter, particularly in exciting the spirit of forcible resistance. He partook, he says, in the highest degree, of the general excitement. Already, on the morning of the 26th, immediately after the appearance of the ordinances, he had replied to the lawyers who consulted him upon what was to be done, at the Palace of Justice, whither he had gone as a member of the court of assize—"that the illegal ordinances must be resisted, and violence must be repelled by force;" and in the evening of the same day he made a speech at a meeting of the electors at the office of the National, which is described as producing a powerful effect.

"He spoke of the evils which would result to the country from the ordinances, of the shame which would fall upon France, if she basely submitted to the most unjust, the most disloyal of tyrannies. 'It is time,' he said, 'to convert into action our energetic language, and to show that in the day of dan-



ger we persist in the same sentiments.' These words he pronounced with so much warmth and emotion, that his voice was impeded by tears and sobs. At the moment an innumerable crowd surrounded the approaches to the office, listening with religious respect to the energetic expressions of the patriot deputy. These last words were overwhelmed with plaudits. An oath was taken to offer determined resistance to despotism, and to save liberty with the laws, and M. de Schonen found himself environed, and almost suffocated, in the arms of those enthusiastic men, a great number of whom worthily accomplished on the ensuing morning the promises of the eve."

What a sublime spectacle is here exhibited! A patriot animated by the loftiest and purest of feelings, pouring forth his indignation against the unholy attempts of power, breathing his own spirit into the multitude by whom he was surrounded, and inciting them to nerve their hearts and hands for a mortal contest, and brave, as he was willing to do, the utmost efforts of their oppressors, at length wrought up to such a pitch by his own eloquence, that his emotion interrupts his utterance, and his voice can no longer perform its duty—the people listening at first with profound attention to the words that fall from his lips, until roused by his appeals and almost maddened by his emotion, they burst into an overwhelming chorus of acclamation, mingled with oaths of sacrificing their lives upon the altar of their country, and rush forward to clasp in their enthusiastic embraces the man who had struck the chord in their bosoms whose vibrations are most in unison with all that is noble and great. It would be scarcely possible to find a more spirit-stirring picture in the whole gallery of history.

Whilst M. Pepin thus pays his tribute to those who were for bringing matters to an extremity at once, he at the same time justifies the conduct of Casimir Perier, and the more moderate deputies, who wished at first to confine the resistance within the bounds of legality. They might well believe, he asserts, invested as they were with a political character, that they did not possess the right of divesting themselves forthwith of that character which they held by the will of the nation, and that before having recourse to the *ultima ratio* in politics, it would be proper for them to exhaust all the parliamentary means, in order that the right of resistance on the part of the people might be rendered more legitimate. Besides, he continues, the most intrepid, even on the 27th and 28th, doubted with reason the possibility of the success of the insurrection, so that it was certainly permissible to be less sanguine on the 26th, when the people were not moving, and nothing announced then what that people would be on the 28th and 29th. This very natural disquietude was shared at that epoch by all those who united with energy and firmness, a discernment founded upon the experience of the abortive conspiracies of the last fifteen years. In this number were included M M. Thiers and Carrel, and many others whose conduct afterwards

was highly courageous, but who said at first, with reason: "an insurrection is not to be made with nothing, and what can be done against cannon and regular troops?" It is well for France that the populace took it upon themselves to answer that question, without waiting to have it resolved by the wisdom of their superiors. Our author denies, however, that Casimir Perier evinced any thing like the lively anxiety which M. Sarrans affirms was painted on his countenance, when he heard the motion of M. de Schonen, in the meeting on the 26th at the house of M. Delaborde, to cry "to arms." "He only uttered an opinion, which in no way diminished his just indignation against the ordinances, and his determination to resist them by every means, if measures of conciliation should be fruitless." "He was in 1830 what he had not been during the last years of the restoration, the firm defender of liberty; and this is so true, that immediately after the failure of the commission sent to the Duke of Ragusa, he uttered these words to M. Baude—"I believe that nothing now is to be done but to resist; if you think that my name can be of any service, make use of it; if you have need of funds, you will find them at my house; act according to your judgment and your knowledge, and count upon me." M. Pepin further argues that as none of those who advocated violent measures placed themselves at the head of the movement, any more than the supporters of the other sentiment, they all equally, in fact, continued within the limits of legality until the day of the 28th; but there is no superabundant quantity of logic in this reasoning. Certainly those who, like M. de Schonen, openly incited the people to overstep these limits, transgressed the latter themselves, and endangered their safety, in case of the failure of the insurrection, quite as much as if they had assumed the immediate direction of the revolt, or brandished their swords and conducted the attack. Had the royalists been successful, the difference would have been rendered obvious enough between those who hesitated and temporized, when a crisis had arrived which demanded instant and decisive action, and who thus afforded no positive hold upon themselves to the vengeance of power, and those who had been guilty of what would have been plausibly denounced as treason, and undoubtedly punished as such. How any one could have imagined that pacific proceedings, however solemn and strong, would be influential in arresting the insane court of Charles and his ministers, after the evidence they had given of their determination to prostrate the public liberties at every hazard—especially any one who, like M. Pepin, believed that the ordinances were the result of a conspiracy of no recent organization—it passes our ability to comprehend. As soon as the charter was violated, the national compact was broken, and every species of resistance became as legal as parliamentary resistance. Besides, the Chambers having been dissolved by the proper author-

ity, what merely legal right had the deputies to assemble for any object? The first blow was struck by the promulgation of the ordinances, and it was neither very wise nor very manly to delay returning it until a representation of its impropriety was made. To do this was only to incur the risk of being speedily put altogether *hors de combat*. Self-defence is one of the first of rights and duties, and to a desperate attack desperate resistance must be made. The phrase of the Roman orator is perfectly applicable here—*Silent leges inter arma, nec se exspectari jubent; cum ei, qui exspectare velit, antè injusta pœna luenda sit, quam justa repetenda.*

We translate what M. Pepin says in reference to the conduct of Lafayette:

“It has been said (in M. Sarrans’ work) that M. de Lafayette, ‘indignant at the delays of the deputies, already spoke (on the 28th) of establishing his head-quarters in Paris.’ This is an error. M. de Lafayette said nothing of the kind in the meeting of the 28th. He was then very reserved, and perhaps, at heart, he was of those who entertained but slight hopes of victory. Besides, if it is pretended that he was so indignant, why did he not at once come to a rupture with his colleagues? And how did it happen, that on the morning of the 29th, he had not yet placed himself at the head of the insurrection? For the people particularly demanded chiefs, and they demanded them with loud cries on the 28th, and even the 29th; after the victory, it must be acknowledged, the people had leaders enough, but they found very few in the moment of danger. We shall see, on the contrary, that on the 29th, M. de Lafayette was not the first to declare himself chief of the movement.

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“General Gerard was really the first to place himself at the head of the armed force, the honour of which it has been attempted to ascribe to M. de Lafayette, by representing him ‘consecrating the solemn night of the 28th to the inspection of the barricades.’ This is not so; for if M. de Lafayette had occasion to encounter the barricade in the rue Cadet, it was because it was in his way returning from the street of the Faubourg Poissonnière, where was the meeting at the house of M. Puyraveau, to his own residence, rue d’Anjou Saint-Honoré.

“On the 29th, between twelve and one o’clock, when M. de Lafayette entered into the saloon of M. Laffitte, his colleagues had been assembled for some time, in much greater numbers than at the meetings in the houses of M. Perier and M. de Puyraveau. His first words, on entering the room, were, ‘that he had received various invitations to take the command of the national guard.’ This offer was accepted; but it was stated that General Gerard had already assumed the command of the entire armed force. In effect, while M. de Lafayette was *admiring* the barricades, or reading the letters addressed to him, instead of declaring himself chief of the national guard, as he was counselled to do, General Gerard was acting. The latter had constituted himself military chief of the movement, and whilst M. de Lafayette was deliberating, had already reviewed the armed force. If, then, it be possible to attribute to a single man, or to some men, a direct influence upon the movement of July, which I do not admit; I, who am no believer in necessary men in politics; it would not be to M. de Lafayette, whatever his encomiast may say, it would not be to M. de Lafayette that the honour should be referred of having done the most for the revolution of 1830; but to General Gerard, who first really placed himself at the head of the armed force, and proved himself most a man of action, from the morning of the 29th of July.



"But it has happened that of these two honourable men, one has wisely remained in his sphere, without going out of it through ambition for popularity; the other has perhaps exaggerated the part he was called upon by circumstances to play, through weakness and the counsel of his friends. One has comprehended that his mission was completed on the day when the people named a lieutenant-general of the kingdom; the other has perhaps wished to protract his even beyond the day when a king was made. And it is to be remarked, that in consequence of party spirit, ingratitude almost has been shown towards a man who has merited well of his country. The services rendered by the modest marshal and the sincere friend of our institutions, have been forgotten. It has been objected to him as a reproach, that he has deemed order and unity of power requisite for the confirmation of the system created by France; and on the other hand, the power and the popularity have been exalted beyond measure, of him whose name has too often been opposed to that of the king of the French; of him who has too often allowed himself to indulge in the idea, that because he concurred in placing the prince upon the throne, he has continued always at his side and even before him. In all this there is error, or rather weakness, the cause of which must be principally attributed to the men who never cease to deceive him, by exaggerating before his eyes his political importance, of which they desire to avail themselves for their own profit.

"The proposition of M. de Lafayette to place himself at the head of the national guard having been accepted, General Gerard gave the command of it up to him, and M. de La Borde was named the chief of his staff."

M. Pepin having thus endeavoured to pluck some of the most verdant leaves from the wreath with which others have been induced to encircle the brows of Lafayette, in consequence of his co-operation in the events of the three days, next proceeds to controvert the assertions with respect to the power possessed by him after the achievement of the victory. He affirms that the general was very far himself from believing in the omnipotence ascribed to him; that he had too much tact not to understand his true position at that epoch; and he adduces in support of what he says, the following words, uttered by the illustrious veteran in the Chamber of Deputies in October, 1831: "Like you, I had the idea of a Constituent Assembly, but I soon felt the imperative necessity of circumstances, and it is very easy now to reproach us with our precipitation." He denies that the nomination of the Duke of Orleans was brought about by intrigue, on the part of Laffitte and a few others composing a camarilla, as it has been termed, and forming a camp separate from the municipal commission at the Hotel de Ville, the existence of which he flatly contradicts. M. Laffitte, he acknowledges, was one of the persons most instrumental in creating the government of the 7th of August. "It is true that, for a long time attached at heart to the prince, whom France chose with enthusiasm in 1830 as alone capable of saving the country, he nobly and actively exerted his influence to hasten the success of what is now called an intrigue;" and for this he says he will ever possess the gratitude of France, although the friends of the monarchy may regret that he should have deviated from the route which he followed in 1830, and through weakness, or a thirst

for popularity, lent too easy an ear to the counsels of pretended political friends. But what is an intrigue, he asks, which is carried on in open day, and in presence of the whole world? He equally denies the assertion of M. Sarrans, that when M. Lafitte, at the meeting of all the deputies present in Paris, at his house, on the evening of the 29th, had skilfully profitted by the general anxiety, to propose the election of the Duke of Orleans, as the only means of settling the uncertainty, this opinion, *officially* expressed for the first time, excited some astonishment, and found opposers:

"If there was opposition to the lieutenant-generalship, who were the opposers? and who could be the opposers? It was not M. Lafayette, who said at a later period in the chamber, 'it has appeared fitting to us to raise a popular throne, and I must say, that my inclination for the prince was strengthened when I had known him.' It was not M. Mauguin, who, the 8th of August, 1830, acknowledged himself in a letter the very faithful subject of his majesty Louis Philippe. It was not M. Audry de Puyraveau, a signer of the same letter, and who afterwards said in the chamber, in 1830, 'we know that the best government is that which is based upon the habits of a nation, and it is that which we possess. We have sworn fidelity to the government, and we will not swear in vain; it will never have more sincere friends than we.' It was not M. de Schonen, nor M. Loboau, nor C. Perier, nor B. Constant, who also said, in 1830, 'Louis Philippe, with the constitutional charter, is our last ark of safety.' Nor, finally, any of those honourable deputies, signers of the declaration of the 31st July, who made a part of the *camarilla*. The lieutenant-general, then, was named by common consent. There was not the slightest opposition. On the contrary, it is to be remarked, that the adversaries of the government of July, of the *côté gauche*, were all agreed upon the principle, and that the election of the Duke of Orleans was unanimously approved by them; for, if some have become hostile, it is only since the installation, and under the pretext of the system followed since that event."

The famous *programme* of the Hotel de Ville is likewise treated by M. Pepin as a mere coinage of the brain; a fiction devised by certain spirits discontented with their personal situation. Its existence has also been denied by Louis Philippe himself, if M. Sarrans' account of the conversation between him and the three deputies sent to remonstrate with him on the course he was pursuing, be correct; and our author intimates that an *official* denial would have set the matter at rest, if justice had not already been done to it by the good sense of the public. He says that it was never heard of until some months after the installation; that it is altogether different from the constitutional declaration of the 31st July, which was unanimously approved by the country; that it is belied by the speeches of Lafayette himself in the chamber; that this patriot had not the power of imposing such principles as those of the programme, and that Louis Philippe had not the right to enter into any engagement of the sort.

Another error, he says, not less great, is the attributing exclusively to Lafayette the formation of the national guards in 1830.

"Every body knows, on the contrary, that many citizens had already put on the national uniform to fight against despotism before he assumed the com-

mand, and that in the mind of the people, the national guard was never considered as rightfully suppressed. M. de Lafayette, therefore, no more recreated the national guard in 1830, than he re-established the tri-coloured flag, (another feather which is pulled from his cap), or organized the barricades, or made the revolution of 1830. Every thing was then done spontaneously, simultaneously, for it was the sentiment of all; and it was useless to seek for the chiefs who had directed the movement, and conducted the revolution; every where masses more or less intelligent, more or less attached to liberty could be found, but few or no chiefs. Thence, the importance which it has been wished to give to one man, must fall."

After this hard treatment of the venerable general, it is but justice, both to him and our author, to translate the following tribute:

"Let me be allowed to express my entire opinion with regard to M. de Lafayette. I recognize perfectly, with every just and sincere person, that M. de Lafayette was always an excellent citizen, of admirable purity of civism, courageous even to bravery, never recoiling before danger whenever the interests of liberty were to be defended; that he has always been the man of France the most constantly identical with himself in every position; that he has never failed in that *expansive sensibility* which characterizes him; that he has always been generous and void of rancour towards the parties who by turns hated and sacrificed him; that liberty has always found him a sincere patriot, in the camp of Maubeuge as well as in the prisons of Olmutz, under the empire as under the restoration."

At the epoch of the ordinances, the Duke of Orleans was at Neuilly, with his family, in complete ignorance, according to M. Pepin, of what was passing at St. Cloud. The secret had been so well kept, that the duke was only informed of the coup-d'etat by the *Moniteur* of the 26th of July. His situation was singular, and encompassed with danger. Our author expresses reasonable surprise at the carelessness of the court in reference to him, considering the undoubted enmity which existed between the two branches, or, in the words of the text, "which was felt by the elder for the younger branch; an enmity which dated from the regency; which had but increased in 1814, in consequence of the real or supposed hesitation of the sovereigns, who for a moment, it is said, entertained the idea of placing the crown upon the head of the duke; and which had been kept alive during the fifteen years of the restoration, by the avowed sympathy of the duke for the constitutional institutions of France." He is astonished that a court so suspicious and jealous, should never have taken measures to prevent his becoming a rallying-point for their opponents; but this heedlessness was in perfect keeping with the entire course of the king and his ministers. The pages of history might be searched in vain for a more marvellous instance of political infatuation. The whole matter is a perfect anomaly in every way. Never was there a more striking exemplification of the trite adage with regard to the operation of the Deity upon the minds of those whose destruction he has willed, than the unaccountable conduct of the assailants; never was there a more splendid instance of



ready, determined, intelligent valour, than the resistance of the assailed; never a more admirable exhibition of generosity and moderation in prosperity than that which was given by the victorious populace. The contemplation of the event in all its parts, might well induce the exiled monarch and his followers to console themselves with the exclamation of the crusaders—*Dieu le volt*.

It was not until two o'clock in the afternoon that any exact information was obtained at Neuilly of what was going on in Paris. At that hour M. Badouix, now prefect of Nièvre, arrived, and related the success of the people, and the elevation of the tri-coloured standard. Nevertheless, says M. Pepin, as a surprise was still to be apprehended on the part of the court, the duke passed the night out of the chateau, in the house of Villiers, a dependency of Neuilly; but we suspect he was quite as apprehensive of a surprise from the other side, and when he was called from his hiding-place to be seated on the throne of his relative, he must have experienced something of the sensations of the Emperor Claudius under similar circumstances. It is well known that he manifested considerable reluctance, at first, to accept the appointment which was offered to him, although by some it has been represented as merely feigned, the counterpart of the farce enacted by great Julius, when he thrice refused the crown upon the Lupercal. But we are fully inclined to believe in his sincerity in preferring to remain in a private capacity such as he enjoyed, to encountering the toils and anxieties of a precarious throne, divested, as it was, of that *prestige* and splendour usually deemed a compensation for every inconvenience. At the same time it strikes us with surprise that he should not immediately have perceived he had no alternative; that he could not remain in France unless as the first of its inhabitants; that to escape being overwhelmed by the resistless current which was then rushing on, his only plan was to allow it to carry him along with it in its course. It seems to us that it required no wizard, in the shape of Talleyrand, to satisfy him of this; coming events must here have cast their shadow before too plainly, to need the eye of one in possession of 'mystical lore,' given either by the 'sunset of life,' or superior shrewdness. By the way, M. Pepin says nothing about the circumstance we have just alluded to, of the consultation held by the Duke of Orleans with the man of thirteen oaths, as to what should be done, when the latter decided the question by the laconic answer, '*il faut accepter*,' from which its truth may be inferred, as he would doubtless have repudiated it if possible.

Our author's account of the proceedings immediately previous to the acceptance, is highly interesting, and in all probability was furnished by some one very intimate with the king, if not by Louis Philippe himself.

"At ten o'clock in the morning of Friday, the 30th of July, MM. Dupin

and Persil left the Laffitte meeting, in order to repair with all haste to Neuilly. They did not find the Duke of Orleans. He was at Raincy. The princesses alone had remained at Neuilly, with some persons of the household. Of this number were MM. de Motesquiou and Vatout, who during the three days had not quitted the duke. M. Dupin addressed himself to the duchess, and imparted to her the determination of the deputies to assemble that very day at the ordinary place of meeting of the chamber, in order to confer upon the Duke of Orleans the title of lieutenant-general.

"My husband is not at Neuilly," replied the duchess. "Nevertheless, madam, it is time to decide," said M. Dupin. "All uncertainty would be fatal. The ordinances have broken every compact with the elder branch. Reconciliation is become impossible between the people and Charles X., and France entire has always entertained the liveliest sympathy for the Duke of Orleans; but a prompt and decisive course must be adopted, under pain of beholding the revolution of 1830 lost in vain theories, which would have no other result than to bring anarchy upon France, which, perhaps, would eventuate in another restoration. The Duke of Orleans alone can save us at the same time from anarchy and invasion, for no power would dare attack France at peace and secure in her own strength, with a constitutional king, freely chosen, whose interests would never be separated from the cause of the nation; and at all events, France would know how and be able to defend herself." M. Dupin insisted especially that the duchess should press the return of the duke, and that he should decide without delay.

"M. Thiers arrived at Neuilly soon after the departure of MM. Dupin and Persil. Having asked to speak with the prince, it was answered that he was not at Neuilly. But as he insisted upon seeing him, the duchess, after having positively assured him of the absence of the duke, called Madame Adelaide, who came accompanied by Madame de Montjoie. Madame Adelaide said to M. Thiers that she was ready to listen to him in the name of her brother, promising an answer from him as promptly as possible.

"To the first words of M. Thiers, Madame Adelaide replied that she shared entirely the sentiments of the Parisians, whose noble conduct she greatly admired, but that it was necessary to take care, in the interest of France and of liberty, that France and Europe should not believe that there had only been a revolution in the palace, and that they should not attribute the fall of Charles X. to the intrigues of the Duke of Orleans.

"M. Thiers spoke with warmth of the state of mind in France after the three days. He said, 'that all the world knew that the Duke of Orleans had not sought the crown; but that Charles X. had become hateful to the nation. France ought naturally to turn her eyes towards the Duke of Orleans, as towards one who by his ever honourable antecedent career, had given the most guarantees for the cause of liberty; that the only means of deriving benefit from the movement of July, was to make a revolution of 1688; that, in consequence it was requisite for the Duke of Orleans, in declaring his adhesion to the revolution, to decide promptly, in order not to allow the fallen party time to use their resources, which still might be considerable; that, in fine, the acceptance of the Duke of Orleans would fix the destinies of France, and consolidate this revolution, accomplished in the name of the laws.'

"Madame Adelaide in reply to M. Thiers, said, 'my brother is not here, but if we can be of any use to the interests of the country, France knows us and should count upon us; if any one of the Orleans family is wanting at Paris, I am ready to repair there; I will become what it pleases God to make me; I will share the destiny of the Parisians.' M. Thiers then wrote some urgent lines to the Duke of Orleans, and returned to MM. Laffitte and Sebastiani. But when he reached Paris, near one o'clock, the deputies were already assembled in the chamber.

"During that period, the walls of Paris were covered with proclamations

in favour of the Duke of Orleans. At the Hotel de Ville, the new ordinances of St. Cloud, brought by M. de Sussy in the name of M. de Montemart, had been rejected. The chamber of deputies, upon the report of a commission composed of MM. C. Perier, Laffitte, Sebastiani, and Benjamin Delessert, who conferred with a commission of the chamber of peers, decided that it would invite the Duke of Orleans to Paris, in order to exercise the functions of lieutenant-general of the kingdom, and that a deputation chosen by lot should take to Neuilly its resolve. In consequence, a deputation of twelve members repaired to Neuilly. The duke had not yet returned, and the proclamation which named him lieutenant-general was consigned to madame Adelaide.

"In the evening, the duke returned from Raincy. He immediately assembled his family in the park, read the proclamation by the light of torches, and after having deliberated upon what he should do, guided by the desire of saving his country from incertitude or anarchy, he resolved to accept the functions of lieutenant-general. He embraced his wife and his sister, who attached a tri-coloured ribbon to his button-hole; and dressed as a citizen, set off on foot for Paris, accompanied by MM. de Berthois, Heymès and Oudard, answering at all the posts which he encountered with the cry of *vive la charte!* and proceeded to the Palais-Royal.

"The next morning, 31st of July, at six o'clock, he sent for M. Dupin, and dictated to him, in the presence of general Sebastiani, the proclamation which finishes with the words: *The charter shall henceforward be a truth.* This was distributed to the people assembled in crowds in the court of the Palais-Royal.

"The chamber also addressed a proclamation to the French people; and when it was signed, a resolution was passed to carry it to the lieutenant-general. Accordingly, at four in the afternoon, the assembly, in a body, preceded by ushers decorated with the national colours, having at its head its three first vice-presidents, MM. Laffitte, Benjamin Delessert, and Dupin the elder, repaired to the Palais-Royal in the midst of the acclamations of the citizens.

"After the answer of the Duke of Orleans was given, it was determined to proceed without delay to the Hotel de Ville. The duke set out on horseback without escort, accompanied only by M. de Berthois, and preceding at the distance of twenty paces the deputies, who followed him on foot, he went to the Hotel de Ville, through a lane formed by the people in arms. There he was received by the municipal commission.

"When the great hall of arms was reached, a circle was formed, and M. Laffitte, who presided over the meeting of the deputies, invited M. Viennet to read the declaration addressed to the French people by the deputies of the departments. The lieutenant-general replied: 'Whilst I deplore, as a Frenchman, the evil inflicted upon my country, and the blood that has been spilt, I shall be happy to contribute to the happiness of the nation.' These words were followed by the ridiculous insult of General Dubourg, who said to the prince: 'I hope you will keep your oaths.' 'Know, sir,' replied the duke, with energetic vivacity, 'that I have never failed in them, and it is not when my country claims me, that I shall be wanting to the duties which they impose upon me.'

"After this scene, the lieutenant-general and M. de Lafayette appeared together on the balcony of the Hotel de Ville, where they embraced with cordiality.

"The prince waved the tri-coloured banner in presence of the people, who responded with acclamations. He then returned, accompanied by the people, to the Palais-Royal.

"Such is the exact recital of all that passed on the 31st of July, 1830, at the Hotel de Ville, and it is difficult to see in all this the programme of republican institutions.



The first great danger of disturbance, after the elevation of Louis Philippe to the throne, arose from the trial of the ex-ministers, against whom the natural exasperation of the people was insidiously augmented by the enemies of the revolution, who were eager for the commission of excesses, in order that it might be compromised in the eyes of Europe. Here again our author lays his ruthless hand on the clustering leaves of the chaplet woven by M. Sarrans. Citing the latter's words, that in the fearful period in question, 'Lafayette benevolently risked his popularity to satisfy an exalted sentiment of generosity and humanity, which has always marked his career,' and that 'he wished to save the life of Polignac,' he rejects the idea that any risk of loss of popularity was incurred by the general, on the ground that the great majority felt as he did, none being desirous of blood, except some 'miserable hirelings employed to excite trouble, and pervert the most beautiful of revolutions;' and further asserts, that if especial credit is to be accorded to any one for his conduct at the time, it is to M. de Montalivet, the minister of the interior, whose promptitude and ability were worthy of all eulogium. They presented a strong contrast, he says, to the uncertainty and irresolution of Lafayette, whom he accuses of having made no arrangements, of directing nothing, of allowing every thing to go on at hap-hazard, and of often proffering the most singular advice in the council, indicative of no remarkable prudence. He instances, in support of the last charge, his recommendation, when the bringing of the prisoners from Vincennes was discussed, at a moment when the disturbances were becoming more and more alarming, that they should be conducted through the city with great pomp, and in open day.

"After the definitive judgment of the peers, M. de Montalivet was obliged to take it upon himself to lead the prisoners immediately from the Luxembourg to their place of destination, without waiting for the always dilatory decisions of the commander-in-chief; and after all, if M. de Lafayette had been the only man of action and prudence in the council at this epoch, the judgment of the court of peers would have run, perhaps, the risk of having an entirely different issue."

There is some contradiction, it appears to us, between this remark and the argument adduced against the supposition, that Lafayette's popularity was endangered by his deportment, a deportment, M. Pepin acknowledges, as full of generosity as his conduct has always been in every circumstance with which his name is connected, and for which the gratitude justly due should not be diminished by any deficiencies on his part. M. Pepin stabs under the fifth rib with exquisite skill.

The next topic treated in the volume before us, is the retirement of Lafayette from the command of the national guards, a circumstance which has been represented as occasioned by intrigue and jealousy on the part of the king and the chamber. Our ad

vocate, of course, endeavours to exonerate both from all blame, and to prove that the retirement was imputable only to the general himself, or rather to the interested counsels of pretended friends. The immediate cause of it, as is well known, was the passage of the law concerning the national guard, the 50th article of which was intended to cause the abolition of the office of commander-in-chief as dangerous to the state.

To this, various amendments were offered, providing, that in consideration of the eminent services and unalloyed patriotism of Lafayette, he was to be continued in the station as long as it suited him, none of which, however, were adopted. These propositions form the basis of M. Pepin's argument, that the chamber were desirous of retaining Lafayette; but the whole affair has been denominated by the friends of the latter a miserable farce, and we must confess we cannot help viewing it in that light. If a real desire had existed for his continuance, there would have been no action whatever upon the matter, until after his death, or spontaneous resignation. There was no necessity for pressing it at so early a period, as is demonstrated by the circumstance of there being still a commander of the guard, it having not yet been deemed expedient to put an entire end to the office. How preposterous, therefore, is the remark of M. Pepin: "instead of accusing the chamber of having sought the removal of M. de Lafayette, it should be acknowledged, on the contrary, that it manifested the greatest regret at being obliged to submit itself to the constitutional principle, which declares the general command of the national guards of France incompatible with the spirit of a free government." How could it have been supposed that he would continue to hold a post on sufferance, whose existence had been solemnly declared hostile to the welfare of the country, especially as he had intimated, according to our author's own statement, his intention to throw it up, in case its functions were suppressed by law? We agree, fully, with M. Sarrans, that when the article in question was passed, it was a virtual dismissal of Lafayette; and we are also strongly disposed to think, with him, that the proceedings of the chamber were actuated by the same opinion—in other words, that they desired to deprive the general of his command, and employed this oblique method of accomplishing what they feared to attempt unequivocally and directly. We are further equally prone to believe that these proceedings were instigated by the ministry, in conjunction with the court, or to speak more plainly, the king. There never had been any love lost between the two personages, and there was too great a discrepancy between their feelings and views to admit of very remarkable harmony. Louis Philippe must have regarded the proximity of Lafayette as irksome in the extreme; he must have felt himself subjected to a species of *surveillance*, as long as the most popular and independ-

ant man in France occupied a station of such extensive power and influence, and we do not wonder that he should have desired his removal. It is certainly not our intention to impute to him any sinister views to which he considered Lafayette as an obstacle; he may have very naturally wished to free himself from a disagreeable neighbourhood. He may have thought that he was exercising 'the foresight and prevention' which Lord Bacon lauds as 'an excellent point of caution,' "that there be no likely or fit head whereunto discontented persons may resort, and under whom they may join; one that hath greatness and reputation, that hath confidence in the discontented party, and upon whom they turn their eyes, and that is thought discontented in his own particular." We neither, however, admire the attempt, in this instance, to compass that object, nor the manner in which it was effected. We will translate M. Pepin's defensive account of the conduct of Louis Philippe:

"On the 24th of December, as soon as M. de Lafayette became acquainted with the decision of the chambers, he sent his resignation to the king.

"In the evening, after the council, MM. Laffitte and De Montalivet, repaired, on the part of the king, to the residence of M. de Lafayette, in order to induce him to withdraw his resignation. M. Laffitte spoke to him feelingly of the duties which his position imposed upon him with regard to France; of the disquietude which would be created in every mind at the intelligence of that event. He endeavoured to make him understand that the chamber having voted a prospective law, that ought not to affect him, and that no one had pretended to change any thing in relation to him at present.

"M. Laffitte retired, having obtained nothing from M. de Lafayette, but he hoped that the night would operate a change in his resolution; and it is to be remarked that M. Laffitte was so little doubtful of the success of his undertaking, that he insisted but lightly on having a definitive answer from the general.

"But M. de Montalivet, feeling that his responsibility would be involved if nothing was decided, since it was necessary for the national guard to have a chief, hastened immediately to the Palais-Royal to announce to the king the determination of M. de Lafayette. The king was greatly afflicted at the circumstance. He directed M. Montalivet to return to M. de Lafayette to endeavour to overcome his resolution. M. de Montalivet did so, and employed the most earnest prayers, the most urgent entreaties. He spoke to M. de Lafayette of his duties towards his country; of the affliction of the king on learning his resignation; of the necessity which obliged a good citizen like himself to make this additional sacrifice to his country, in re-assuming a command from which no one had entertained the desire of removing him. At this moment a door of the apartment was opened, and an officer entered, who said to M. de Lafayette, 'General, I come to warn you that a serious revolt is to take place this evening.' Whether M. de Montalivet really believed in the revolt announced, or regarded the incident as an episode, arranged expressly to frighten him and cause him to yield to certain demands, he made use of the supposed disturbance as a new argument to prove to M. de Lafayette the danger of his position if he persisted in his project. But he was not more fortunate than M. Laffitte, and he departed without having gained any ground.

"In the meanwhile, various colonels of legions of the national guard had



been assembled in the court of the Palais-Royal, by the orders of M. de Montalivet, who informed them of the resolution which had been taken by M. de Lafayette. This unexpected news struck every one with astonishment; they could scarcely believe in so strange an event. It was then that M. de Marmier and M. de Schonen, both colonels of legions, called upon M. de Lafayette. They found at his residence, Mérilhou, Joubert, Béranger, General Carbonnel, and several officers. They were told that he was not visible. They insisted on speaking to him, but they were told that he could not receive them. They waited for more than an hour, after which time, M. de Schonen said to M. de Marmier: 'Let us go; the dignity of our mission does not permit us to wait any longer.' Then, only, were they able to see M. de Lafayette.

"M. de Schonen spoke with energy of the evils to which such a resignation would expose the country, after events so grave, and when tranquillity was hardly established. He said that M. de Lafayette ought to beware not to lose in one day, by an ill-judged obstinacy, the glory of a whole life consecrated to the service of his country. But all his efforts were vain.

"M. Carbonnel joined with M. de Schonen, and said that the national guard had still need of the presence of M. de Lafayette, and that it was to be feared that his resignation would cause a complete disorganization. But M. de Lafayette was immovable.

"During this day of the 24th, it is to be remarked, that on the different occasions when M. de Lafayette was solicited to withdraw his resignation, he never showed himself alone, but always surrounded by certain persons who seemed to have it at heart not to allow him to be seen unless in the midst of them; so that, had he not proved himself, in certain circumstances, a man of great resolution, incapable of being dictated to by any body, it might be supposed that at the period of the resignation, he was under the influence of some men who pushed him to a persistence in his resolution, hoping, doubtless, that matters would not go on with so much calmness, and that events would naturally bring back M. de Lafayette to office, with the counsellors of M. de Lafayette. Already, even on the evening of his resignation, rumours had been spread of violent disturbances that were to take place on the ensuing morning.

"Nevertheless, to all the lively instances of men full of sincerity, and who could not be supposed capable of intrigues, M. de Lafayette answered with reasons entirely political. He imposed conditions; he would not consent to reassume his functions without the immediate dissolution of the chamber, and a change of ministry.

"A last effort was attempted. M. Delaborde was charged by the king to essay again to change the mind of M. de Lafayette. He repaired to his residence, where he found M. O. Barrot, who had just arrived. It was one o'clock in the morning. The general was in bed. On this occasion he was alone. M. Delaborde spoke of the mission which had been assigned to him by the king; of the royal regret at hearing of his resignation; of the hope which his majesty preserved that this resignation was not irrevocable; and that, doubtless, M. de Lafayette would not cause him so much pain. M. Delaborde added, moreover, that it was an act of patriotism to restore to the national guard the chief whom it loved, and that no motive should induce him to separate himself from it.

"M. O. Barrot spoke in his turn of the dangers to which this resignation would expose the country. He represented to him, in terms full of respect and propriety, that whatever were the reasons which had produced his resignation, as a public man, and one placed at the head of that great institution, the national guard, he did not belong to himself, but that all personal interests must yield to the general good; that M. de Lafayette ought to fear to

belie the high reputation for patriotism and disinterestedness which was accorded to him by France; that, in short, his duty was to remain at the head of the national guard.

"These conscientious remarks of two honourable men, one of whom, M. Delaborde, was the first to place himself at the head of the movement of July, which had brought M. de Lafayette into command, appeared to make a deep impression upon his mind. He was almost shaken, and wore the air of a man who was not so sure of having taken a proper step, and seemed not far from regretting his prompt determination. He wrote a letter, which he requested M. Delaborde to give to the king; and then the gentlemen retired.

"After the successive and reiterated efforts of MM. Lafitte, de Montalivet, de Schonen, de Marmier, Delaborde, and O. Barrot, at an epoch of troubles, and the morning after a political sentence which had nearly convulsed the whole capital, a chief of the national guard was indispensable; there was immediate necessity for him, in order that the service might not be interrupted, and Paris could not wake up without a commander of the Parisian guard.

"Accordingly, during the interval between the visit of M. Delaborde and his return to the Palais-Royal to give the letter of M. de Lafayette, Marshal Lobau, to whom the command had been offered in case of the persistence of M. de Lafayette in his refusal, had signified his acceptance; and so little intrigue was there in this last circumstance, that even by the acknowledgment of the panegyrist of M. de Lafayette '*before accepting the command, the Count de Lobau went to M. de Lafayette to ask him if he persisted in his resignation.*' "

We do not well understand why the result of M. Delaborde's mission was not awaited before any decisive steps were taken. It seems strange that the king should have employed his mediation, and before being aware of its success, should have settled the matter by permitting another appointment, which had been conditionally offered. What became of Lafayette's letter, and what did it contain? From the narrative of M. Pepin, it might be inferred that some change in the general's sentiments had been operated by Delaborde and O. Barrot, and that the letter, written in consequence, held out some hopes, at least, of accommodation. If this was the case, the acceptance of Lobau was suspiciously timed, and might induce the idea that a knowledge of the tenor of the epistle was previously obtained, by which the possibility of Lafayette's acceding to the ostensible wishes of the king was discovered, and that it was resolved to terminate the affair at once, so as to prevent a consummation so undesired and unexpected. At all events, it is certainly somewhat singular that more is not said about so important a point as the letter; and that no better explanation why the return of Delaborde was not awaited is furnished, than the one offered by M. Pepin, that Lobau, before accepting the command, had asked Lafayette whether he persisted in his refusal, this being "tantamount to nothing," as they say in our west, since the marshal must have asked the question before the employment of Delaborde as an envoy. We cannot help thinking that the discussion in the chamber, and the solicitations of the king, were farces alike.

The first administration formed by Louis Philippe was that of M. Guizot. Its brief existence is ascribed by our author, in a measure, to the circumstance of its having been "the first to receive the shock of the first dissidents, of not having lent themselves to the passions of the day, of having had too much confidence in the moderation of the parties which were allowed to organize themselves at their ease, and without receiving the slightest opposition, from a very laudable motive, however, since it was always in the interest of liberty and through respect for liberty;" but the principal cause of its fall, he says, was the prospect of the trial of the ex-ministers. The acceptance of power by Laffitte at that crisis, he considers as an act of lofty patriotism; and the position of the ministry after the happy issue of the trial, is represented by him as enabling it to be a blessing to the country.

"France had made a great step in the path of happiness. A great internal question had been solved. The revolution which, it had been predicted, would be so bloody and furious, had spared the lives of its most cruel enemies, nay more, had defended them. In spite of so many sinister prophecies, there had been no 2d of September, no convention, no committee of public safety, to such a degree had the public wisdom, enlightened by the experience of the last, imprinted moderation on the minds of all. At the head of affairs was a man (Laffitte) who, by his antecedent course, offered the best guarantee to the most impetuous partisans of the revolution. More than any other person, he was able to give prevalence to his ideas, to impose them even upon the country, and to sway the existing factions."

"How," asks M. Pepin, "how were all these advantages lost in so short a time? Why was the popularity of the name of M. Laffitte so soon worn out?" We will let him answer his own question in his own way.

"The Laffitte ministry, moderate in principle, by its nature, presenting in all its purity the spirit of the revolution of July, found itself singularly modified the day after the judgment of the ministers; it seemed as if the expectation of that redoubtable judgment had maintained until then an equilibrium among the members of the cabinet, who, when the danger was over, showed themselves full of incoherence and contradiction, although at first they all at heart desired the same thing.

"Several members, forgetting the principles which they had proclaimed on the 7th of August, the day on which they had named a king, were already wandering from the first steps they had made in recognizing the charter and peace; and they allowed themselves to be influenced by the language of those discontented persons who wished to turn the revolution from the route indicated and followed until then by the sincerest partisans of that revolution.

"The personal character of the head of the cabinet, was one scarcely calculated to preserve the requisite unity, not only in the ministry, but in France, after a revolution and in the midst of the general discomfort, which seemed to increase every day. M. Laffitte, who, from his political and social situation, should more than any one have desired the charter and peace, and who, moreover, acknowledged that the revolution was stamped with a character of moderation, did not perceive that he was himself deficient in logic, and that his acts were often at variance with his words.



"There were always two men in M. Laffitte, whilst president of the council and head of the ministry of the third of November:—one who frankly desired the constitutional monarchy, with a civil list of eighteen millions; who pronounced speeches full of moderation against war and propagandism; who proclaimed in the tribune the maintenance of the treaties of 1815, the spirit of tolerance with regard to the fallen party, the necessity of restraining the revolution *within a certain measure*, and, in consequence, of repressing factions; one who was always ready to make sacrifices in order to have peace at home and abroad; and the other, who had the misfortune to wish always to lean on those of his political friends who necessarily conducted him to other results than those which flowed naturally from the principles which he laid down; who listened to the harangues, full of inconsistency, of M. de Lafayette, who, after having contributed to the erection of a monarchy, demanded anti-monarchical institutions; to the republican rudeness of M. Dupont de l'Eure; who signed laws and ordinances altogether constitutional, and nevertheless voted with the partisans of an entirely different order of things; to the inappropriate dissertations of M. O. Barrot, who always deliberated when it was necessary to act, developing theories of government in the midst of commotions which threatened the safety of the chambers, giving advice, not remarkable for wisdom, which he deemed, however, adapted to avert the danger of the moment, that is to say, quite ready to make the most extensive concessions to factions.

"It is then true that M. Laffitte was never identical with himself, and could not be so, precisely on account of his political friendship both without and within the ministry, which destroyed all the effect of his prudent and moderate language; perhaps, even, on account of his injudicious love of popularity, which always escaped him as long as he was in power, and in consequence, indeed, of his being there.

"In the same way as there was contradiction and want of identity in the chief of the ministry of the 3d of November, there was also, and it was the effect of that circumstance, disunion and a want of homogeneousness in the ministry itself, in the bosom of which two conflicting elements manifested themselves immediately after the judgment of the ministers, which, until then, had been entirely unknown, or, at least, were not yet developed; namely, the moderate element, at the head of which were MM. Laffitte, de Montalivet, Barthe, d'Argout, Sebastiani, and the element which has been termed movement, the supporters of which had been, in the first place, MM. de Lafayette and Dupont de l'Eure, and after the resignation of the latter, M. Mérilhou, together with MM. Soult and O. Barrot. These elements, which in the outset offered but shades so light as scarcely to be perceptible, revealed themselves afterwards, in several instances, in a marked manner.

"I wish to advert to the resignations of MM. de Lafayette, Dupont de l'Eure, and O. Barrot.

"At various epochs M. de Lafayette had showed himself opposed to the system continually proclaimed in the tribune by the president of the council, and approved by the majority of the cabinet and of the chambers; every day he came to the council with new demands. Now it was a dissolution of the chamber of deputies, now that of the magistracy, now that of the peerage, all measures at least unseasonable, and which would only have tended to excite trouble in France at that critical period. These demands were for a long time eluded, and concord was in a great degree maintained among the members of the cabinet, until the day when the discussion of the law respecting the national guard awakened the sensibility of M. de Lafayette, by suppressing the title of commander-in-chief. We have already beheld the perfectly ingenuous conduct of the king in relation to M. de Lafayette; we have seen the various and strenuous attempts to obtain from him a retraction of his resignation; we have witnessed the prayers and the supplications employed towards the gene-

ral, until, at length, his obstinacy being insuperable, it became necessary to make another nomination of a chief for the national guard.

"The resignation of M. de Lafayette was followed by that of M. Dupont de l'Eure, who always marched parallel with the general, even whilst countersigning laws which his democratic sensibility was to disavow two years subsequently—amongst others, that of the 8th of October, 1830, relative to the misdemeanors of the press. But he had long manifested a desire to withdraw from affairs through a love of repose, and it was M. de Lafayette alone who had caused him to postpone his retirement. The pretext he used was the resignation of the general.

"The result of these two resignations was to cause the moderate element to triumph in the cabinet as it had triumphed in the chamber.\* M. Merilhou, who succeeded M. Dupont de l'Eure, showed himself less a partisan thenceforward of the opinion which has been designated by the term movement. M. O. Barrot was the only obstacle remaining to the harmony of the cabinet. It is to be remarked that all these partial and successive modifications, which were operated in the ministerial combination, were brought about by the very nature of things; intrigue could have nothing to do with them, whatever may be said, for at an epoch when power experienced so much difficulty in establishing itself, no force was capable of giving a direction to affairs not approved by the majority of the country. What was then generally demanded, was not a different political system, but less uncertainty and indecision.

"M. Lafitte, in spite of his political friendships, in spite of the simultaneous resignations of MM. de Lafayette and Dupont de l'Eure, remained at the head of the ministry, and continued the system which he had proclaimed on his entry into affairs. But he acted contrary to his language, or rather, he contented himself with speaking without acting, and his irresolution in the presence of factions, was far from inspiring confidence.

"'Perhaps,' said he, 'a conspiracy exists against the public tranquillity. Who are these enemies that have coalesced in secret? On the one side, the partisans of a power which is no more. On the other, some impatient marplots, whose ambition, awakened by the new order of things which was opening before us, has found itself disappointed, and wishes to convulse every thing again, in order to be able to reach every thing. To attain this object, they have laid hold of the judgment of the ministers as a pretext, of which they avail themselves in order to provoke a violation of the laws and push the people again into excesses of which it is impossible to foresee the end.'—(Lafitte. *Ch. of D.*, 20 Dec. 1830.)

"Nevertheless, the party of marplots and aspirants, whom a firm and energetic conduct might have been able to attract and convince, began to show mistrust in a system so feebly defended. Indecision and discord created disquietude in affairs and excited ambition, and at this epoch commenced the struggle of an opposition systematically organized against power.

"The disingenuous commentary which certain journals made upon the words addressed by the king to a deputation, was the signal of the attacks of a party whom the feebleness and apathy of the ministry emboldened every day. Those words, firm and full of frankness as they were, were tortured in order to find in them restrictions to the homage to be paid to the revolution of July. Those words, the honour of which it was wished to bestow upon the ministry, who, it must be confessed, were very innocent of them, although they approved them at heart, served as a text for the most furious invectives against the ministry and the monarchy of July. And yet

\* What stronger confirmation can be had of the existence of a desire to get rid of Lafayette, who prevented that triumph, than is furnished by the foregoing narrative?

what more wise than to say : 'The revolution of July must bear its fruit, but this expression is too often employed in a sense neither answering to the national sentiment, nor to the wants of the age, nor to the maintenance of public order. It is nevertheless what must regulate our progress. We will endeavour to keep ourselves in a just medium equally distant from the abuses of royal power and from the excesses of popular power.\*'

"This is the origin of the quarrel; this is the source of so much injury, of so much sedition, of so much malevolence. But what fruits is it wished that the revolution of July shall bear, if it be not the fruits of peace, of order, of civilization? And who can disapprove those words, save those who, in reality, are the enemies of liberty? In them was unfolded an entire system in which the king prides himself, but which the Laffitte ministry had not fortitude to sustain. We shall see, in another place, what that system was which has been so calumniated, so reviled,—a system, nevertheless, which has conquered at St. Méry, in Vendée, at Antwerp.

"Three months had scarcely elapsed since the formation of the Laffitte ministry, and already it was worn out. Already, at the commencement of 1831, it might have been foreseen that such a ministry could not be of long duration, when the events of the 14th of February came to demonstrate still clearer its feebleness and the necessity of a change."

These events, M. Pepin affirms, would not have occurred, had the police exerted itself as it ought. He accuses M. Baude, the prefect of the police, of great negligence in not having taken the necessary measures for preventing the disturbances, and M. Odillon Barrot of unaccountable inaction during the entire day of the 14th of February. The retirement of both these gentlemen was the signal of the dissolution of the cabinet, which our author absolutely denies was produced, as has been said, by the non-communication of an important diplomatic despatch to M. Laffitte. So far from this being the cause, he says, of the circumstance, in a discussion which took place relatively to the despatch, in the drawing-room of M. Laffitte, the latter testified perfect satisfaction with the explanations that were furnished, and there was no longer any question about the matter. Even after the resignations of MM. Barrot and Baude, Laffitte attempted to form a new ministry, "declaring himself for an alliance with the extreme left," an impracticable and preposterous idea, according to M. Pepin, which put an end to the administration of the person by whom it had been conceived.

"To sum up, M. Laffitte left the ministry, because he had no longer the majority on his side, without which no ministry can get on in a constitutional government; because the majority, whilst they recognized in M. Laffitte ideas full of sense and prudence, reproached him, with reason, for not having known how to defend them, leaning, as he did, upon the men the most hostile to those ideas, which were those of the majority; because M. Laffitte, whose name at his entrance into the cabinet was the most popular in France, and who, with a firm volition, might have been the purest personification of the revolution of 1830, had not that volition to enable him to resist the anarchist or the feeble spirits who, like him, allowed themselves to be guided by the anarchists, and permitted all the parties to organize themselves around

\* Answer of the king to a deputation of Gaillac, 31 January, 1831.



him, against the monarchy of the 7th of August, which he was called to defend; because M. Laffitte did not accomplish his mission, which was to cause the principle of peace and of conservation to be respected, a principle which he was more than any one interested in defending, by his individual and political position; because, in fine, the Laffitte ministry had neither unity in the council, nor parliamentary sympathy, without which no ministry can exist. It is then absurd to say, that the retirement of M. Laffitte from the cabinet was owing to *the desire of the court to remove from affairs* the man who had done the most for the revolution. The withdrawal of M. Laffitte must be imputed only to M. Laffitte, who, perhaps, would have been capable of effecting the happiness of France, if he had possessed a little of that energetic faculty which singularly characterized his successor; and, after all, the Laffitte ministry was not rejected, but only left by the majority, as M. Thiers rightly said. I will now examine the system followed by the successor of M. Laffitte."

In this examination his object is to prove that the system alluded to is popular with the mass; that it is improperly denominated the system of the 3d of March—in other words, that it was not originated by Casimier Perier, but dates from the commencement of the government; and that it is indispensable for the existence of a constitutional monarchy. He begins by laying down the position that every political system owes its prevalence in a country either to force, whether merely brute or more or less intelligent, or to the assent of the majority, enlightened or immersed in ignorance, as the case may be; and from this he deduces the right of claiming for the system in question, the favour of the majority of the French, as it has neither force for its foundation, nor is it sustained by the bayonet, nor by the power of a name, nor by the genius of a single man, nor by the magic of glory. It is very clear, indeed, that those who assert the unpopularity of the system, and at the same time ascribe it to Perier, do not stand on a perfectly tenable ground. How, asks M. Pepin, could a man who was not a warrior, who had neither the support of military force, nor the respect due to power, nor the *prestige* of royal authority, how could he impose his system on an unwilling people; and how does it happen that this, so called, individual system has maintained itself not only during the life, but after the death of its reputed author; that it still lasts, and is by no means near extinction, maugre so many predictions, and so many attacks of every species? But, he continues, its origin can not be referred to an individual, to such and such a fortuitous circumstance, to such and such an epoch in the political life of a single man, for "a political system, even one which is imposed by force, is never extemporised; it can never spring up in a day; in order that it may be established in a nation, the minds of the inhabitants must be prepared for it; it must be able, to a certain point, to adapt itself to the habits of the nation." This is true; but granting the assumption, that the system has always possessed the

good-will of the French, we see nothing conclusive in the above reasoning against the authorship of Perier. He may have adopted the system because he perceived that the nation was prepared for such a one; that it would be in accordance with their feelings and wishes. It must have had a beginning at one time or another, and it seems to us that there is no more difficulty in ascribing it to the period of Perier's accession, than to that of Louis Philippe. On the contrary, it is more easy to suppose that a positive system would be fixed upon at a season comparatively settled and tranquil, when some experience of the desires and wants of the people had been obtained, and the times had assumed something like a definite aspect, than at a moment of abrupt transition and violent convulsion. As to another argument, that Perier "had not been previously sufficiently elevated above his contemporaries, to be enabled to impose a system of his own on the country," it is only admissible on the supposition that the system was intrinsically inappropriate. We do not, however, give credit to the fact of Perier's authorship, any more than M. Pepin, though we are not able to comprehend the impossibility of it as set forth in the text.

In tracing the system to what he considers its genuine source, M. Pepin endeavours in the first place to prove, by a comparison of the discourses of Laffitte and Perier, that the same principles were paramount in the administrations of both. The only difference, according to him, was that the former wished to do what the latter did. Like the Athenians, Laffitte knew what was right, whilst Perier practised it, like the Lacedemonians. He then shows that the principles were not original with M. Laffitte, from that minister's own avowal; that they were professed by the previous cabinet, of which he was a member; and also that they were upheld in the beginning by the prominent leaders of the present movement party, whom he accuses of apostacy. It seems to us that he makes out a pretty clear case. For our own parts, we are disposed to yield entire belief to the assertion made by Louis Philippe, in the conference between him and the three deputies, to which we have once before alluded—that the system in question is his own, adopted by him when he first assumed the reins of government. His ability to form one can scarcely be questioned, there being little doubt that his mental resources are inferior to those of very few of the men who have played the part of his advisers. The reason why it has been attributed to Perier, is, perhaps, that he was the first of his ministers possessed of vigour and firmness sufficient to carry it into full execution; and we cannot but suspect that he disengaged himself from the previous premiers, in consequence of their deficiency in those indispensable qualifications. The game was too hazardous which he was called upon to play, to allow him to resign to others the entire framing of the

plan of operation, or suffer those to make the moves determined by himself, whose hands were not of adequate steadiness, and whose spirit was not in perfect unison with his own.

The argument in support of the third point, that the system is necessary for a constitutional monarchy, is introduced by the position that such a form of government cannot subsist with republican institutions—a doctrine in which we must be permitted to coincide. Mongrels are certainly not the most admirable of the works of nature. A government which is neither one thing nor the other—

“Where nought is certain save the uncertainty of all,”

contains within itself the elements of sure and speedy dissolution. Two radically hostile principles brought into such immediate contact, must inevitably destroy one another, and in their stead, the demon of anarchy will raise his terrific head. If a monarchy be desired, says M. Pepin, it can only be with conditions, without which it ceases to be a monarchy.

“For what are republican institutions surrounding a monarchy, if it be not the form which predominates over the substance? One of the strongest republican institutions that a monarchy can bear, is undoubtedly the national guard, with the election of the officers by the soldiers; and now that we have a municipal system sufficiently extensive, founded upon the elective principle, to wish for additional republican institutions, is to wish to change the essence of the government of 1830, which is a monarchy,—it is to wish for a monarchy without a monarchy, which is ridiculous.”

Our author next maintains the superior excellence of a constitutional monarchy over every other species of government, and though, of course, we would combat the truth of this assertion in the abstract, it seems to us folly to express dissent from it in reference to France. Nothing can be more absurd than the outcry which has been raised in the United States against the republicanism of those who entertain the opinion, that our institutions are not adapted for the French. Practically speaking, forms of government are but relatively good: that which is inherently the best may, for many people, be the very worst, from their not being capable of allowing it its proper operation. Few of the material aids of man are productive of such important benefits as steam, when skilfully managed; few of the causes of destruction are so tremendous as the same agent, when it is under the direction of ignorance and incapacity. The difficulty of self-government is in direct proportion to its excellence, even in individuals. It is the offspring of self-knowledge, and that has universally been conceded, before and since the time when the precept of the wise man was delivered, to be of all knowledge the least easy of attainment. What is it which causes the name of Washington to shed an effulgence over the page of history, in the vicinity of which every other ‘light of the world’ must hide his diminished head? What,



but the circumstance that he alone of all the heroes who have swayed their fellow-beings, was successful in commanding himself? And if self-government is so arduous a task for an individual, shall it be considered facile for a nation, when the difficulties are incalculably increased?

In denying the propriety of modelling the institutions of France, or of any part of Europe, upon those of the United States, so far from being obnoxious to the accusation we have alluded to, we esteem ourselves much more truly American than those philanthropic gentlemen who deem the whole world equally capable with us of superintending their political concerns. Our opinion springs from 'Americanism' *par excellence*, if we may so speak,—from the conviction that the American eagle alone is able to gaze on the meridian sun of freedom without being blinded or dazzled 'with excess of light.' Our position, history, character, are in such palpable contrast with those of the people of the old world, that it is perfect hallucination to infer from our success the propriety of their 'doing likewise.' We certainly are not disposed to make this a matter of rejoicing further than as relates exclusively to ourselves. We ardently wish that all the descendants of our common father were equally blessed in their political position; but such is not and cannot be the case, any more than that there should be no diversity of individual happiness. Not only do we consider it impossible now, but we confess it is out of our power, to realize the possibility at any period of the establishment of a republic like this in any country of Europe, and least of all in France, where the very character of the people, their fickleness, excitability, passion for show, mania for military glory, offer an insurmountable obstacle. Like Lafayette, (*si licet exemplis in parvo grandibus uti*,) we desire the greatest happiness of the greatest number; and we therefore earnestly deprecate any endeavour of the nations on the other side of the water to make use of our institutions as a pattern.

M. Pepin demonstrates that the monarchy of 1830 cannot last unless "subjected to the law by which the system of the 13th of March, so called, is supported,"—that is to say, the principle of the *juste-milieu*,—by the example of the first revolution, when the constitutionalists were first obliged to succumb to the Girondists, who, in their turn, were prostrated by the Jacobins.

"Such is the destiny of every system of concessions. One idea is soon devoured by another, and after numberless follies and crimes, the point is returned to from which the departure took place. Thus, those who desire the *juste-milieu* a little more to the left,—*le juste-milieu plus à gauche*,—that is to say, those who desire to displace the *juste-milieu*, do not perceive what they wish; it is not the *juste-milieu* inclined to the left, but the system of the left which they would have; and if ever they attain to power, they will essay, in their turn—they will even be obliged to create another *milieu* in the place of that which they will have overthrown. Then they will think

to maintain themselves in this *milieu* which they deem more in harmony with the revolution of 1830, but they will be passed in the same way as they passed their predecessors; then they will call, but in vain, upon the men of the past, that is to say, the men of the present *juste-milieu*, as the Girondists called upon the constitutionalists of 1789; it will be too late, and there will be an end of the monarchy of 1830, of which they pretended to be the champions."

The remark of Lafontaine in reference to the profligate, may well be applied to political principles, whatever they be, which are not in perfect keeping with the character of the government:

Ne donnez-leur qu'un pied chez vous,  
Ils en auront bientôt pris quatre.

In concluding this topic, our author replies to the question, 'what will be the course of the constitutional monarchy? what will be the future of the *juste-milieu*?' in the following language:

"With those who repudiate the *juste-milieu* because they have a republic in view, there is no possibility of discussion, for there is nothing in common between a republic and constitutional monarchy; but to those who deem the *juste-milieu* hostile to improvement, I answer, as it is the essence of every constitutional monarchy which wishes to maintain itself, never to take a step without the majority, always to lean upon the majority, which changes and renews itself continually with the manners and customs of the country; and as also in every constitutional monarchy, a political system cannot last if it be not conformable to constitutional law, that is to say, if it have not the assent of the majority, the system of the *juste-milieu* will follow the fate of the majority, whether right or wrong, whether it changes or not. This proves the error of those who have accused the system of the 3d of March of being retrograde; in other words, of being destitute of the general will, or stationary, since it is true that this system has not and cannot have an existence but from the majority; in other words, that it lives upon the assent of the nation.

"Whatever, therefore, becomes of the system called the system of the 13th of Mars, whose destiny is, like that of every political system in every constitutional monarchy, to follow the chances of the majority, consequently to modify itself with the majority, if it should undergo modification, which cannot fail to happen, since time will roll on, and the present race of men will be succeeded by another; whatever may become of this system, the principle upon which it rests, namely, the moderate element, must always be preserved in the constitutional monarchy. No modification introduced into the system, can ever be any thing more than the transformation of one moderate state into another moderate state; and if it be true that the majority in France sincerely wish the monarchy of 1830, which is a constitutional monarchy, it must not forget that the condition of the existence of this monarchy will always be to maintain itself in a *juste-milieu*, whatever it be, *equally distant from the abuses of regal power, or absolutism, under pain of perishing like the restoration, and the excess of popular power, or the abuses of excessive liberty, under pain of succumbing to the democratic principle; in other words, that this government must always be moderate.*"

With regard to the majority obtained by the ministry in the elections of 1831, M. Pepin insists that it was a full and fair indication of the feelings of the people, since never was a judg-

ment pronounced with a more complete knowledge of the case, every thing having been discussed with the greatest freedom, during the space of ten months, and not a single argument for or against any political opinion having been allowed to fall to the ground by the tribune or the press. It was not, he affirms, until the opposition had failed in all their various and vehement efforts to secure this majority, that they reviled it as altogether incapable of expressing the general will, which they maintained, whilst they arrogated it to themselves, could only be discovered by a universal and direct vote of the citizens. He joins issue with them on this point, arguing that there is a sensible influence necessarily exercised by the great mass upon the legal majority, and that the welfare of society is infinitely safest in the hands of those who represent the real interests, and not the passions of the nation. He makes a calculation, moreover, to prove that the number of proprietors is vastly greater than has been represented, a circumstance 'important if true.'

M. Pepin is warm in his animadversions upon those self-styled philanthropists who endeavour to infuse into the minds of the labouring classes a discontent with their situation, in not being admitted into the full enjoyment of all political privileges, the inexpediency of which in the present posture of affairs he earnestly maintains. To their machinations he imputes the troubles which occurred in Lyons, not indeed directly, as the insurgents themselves disclaimed all political reasons for their conduct, declaring themselves sincerely attached to the institutions of 1830, but indirectly, in consequence of the manner in which they paralysed all commercial and industrious enterprise, by the disquietude occasioned by their proceedings throughout France, from which it resulted that the Lyonese workmen were thrown out of employment, and impelled to try a violent remedy for their sufferings. The rebellions of the belly, says Lord Bacon, are the worst.

We come now to the affair of the 5th and 6th of June, and cannot refrain from offering the whole of our author's narration of it to our readers, replete as it is with interest, and presenting an aspect of the matter important to be contemplated.

"The opposition had supposed that the system of the 3d of March would be annihilated by the death of Perier. They did not perceive that this system, which they attributed to a single man, had the approbation of the majority, since it was but the formula of the ideas of a whole people who have not ceased to maintain it during the two years past against all the efforts of party, either openly or tacitly, whether upon the public places, or in the elections, or in the face of the potentates.

"Nevertheless, the opposition not doubting of its triumph on account of the death of Perier, only waited for an occasion of proclaiming energetically its doctrines, which it styled the true principles of the revolution of July; and in order to prepare the general mind for a radical subversion of the insti-



tutions of 1830, it published the *compte-rendu*. But this document, discussed and published as it was during the absence of the chambers, by a meeting of deputies acting in that quality, was unquestionably an illegal and unconstitutional act; it was a parliamentary insurrection against the majority of the chamber, which was speedily to be followed by an insurrection with arms in hands. The funeral of General Lamarque was the pretext for it.

"The family of the general, who foresaw but too well the deplorable results of a ceremony whose only object, it was said, was to pay homage to an honourable citizen, had refused to allow the procession to follow the route prescribed by the party. But what could be done against the spirit of revolt which had placed its hand upon the body as upon a standard, rallying around it whatever was to be found in Paris most inimical to order and liberty?

"The procession began to move with cries of *vive Lafayette!* Other cries were also heard: *vive la republique!* down with Louis Philippe! Anarchical banners were displayed, and from the first step made, at the sight of those sinister countenances of men assembled for sedition, the issue of the day could easily have been foretold.

"At the extremity of the place Vendôme, the line was violently turned from the route laid down, in order to oblige it to make the circuit of the place. Mention has been made of resistance from the troops when told to present arms to the procession. It is false. No obstacle was opposed by government, so solicitous was it to avoid the slightest pretext for trouble, which the factious were seeking at every price.

"The procession made the round in the midst of incessant shouts of *vive la liberté, vive la republique.*

"But if it was in the name of liberty that the body of Lamarque was paraded around the column, had those who made this ovation forgotten by what influence the column had been raised? And when they cried *vive la republique* at the foot of the monument which during ten years bore the statue of the man of Brumaire, were they ignorant that this man never had a very lively sympathy either for the republic or for liberty; he who, if he were alive, would have chastised them all like children, as he did upon one occasion, *trampling under the heel of his boot\** the haughty republicans of 1793, too happy when the emperor deigned to make them chamberlains or barons?

"The procession continued its march along the Boulevards to the Bastille. I pass over in silence the seditious cries, the sanguinary menaces, the violence perpetrated upon inoffensive sergeants of the city, the provocations of every kind which forced all good citizens to retire long before the Bastille was reached.

"On the arrival at that place, at the end of the Boulevard Bourdon, before the bridge of the canal opposite to the granaries, red standards were elevated, surrounded with liberty-caps, and incendiary harangues were pronounced. Soon afterwards, in order to complete the funeral orgies, instead of following the direct route, as ought to have been done, for conducting the body to its place of destination, a cry was raised to carry it to the Pantheon. At the same moment, shots directed from an ambuscade against the dragoons, arrayed to prevent this new direction which it was wished to give to the procession, were the signal of the contest which the party sought. The assertion has been made that the shots proceeded from the dragoons, but the pleadings of the court of assize have perfectly established the fact, that far from having commenced the firing, the troops, who had orders to abstain from all provocation, did not return it until their colonel, their lieutenant-colonel and a *chef d'escadron* had been wounded. The factions dispersed, calling the population of the faubourgs, who did not move, to revolt.

\* An expression of the *National*.

"It is related that M. de Lafayette, who made part of the procession, and who, expressly to attend it, had left the council of the department of Seine et Marne, of which he was president, was placed in a very critical position in the midst of the tumult of this day. Certain fanatics wished, it is said, to take him for a leader, imposing, however, certain conditions which must have embarrassed the general. 'The man of July,' says his panegyrist, 'was brought back in triumph by the people ;\* and there was a question of conducting him to the Hotel de Ville across the new barricades.'

"But what is strange, is the hardihood with which the *popularity* of M. de Lafayette is still vaunted after that day. The thousand cries of *vive Lafayette!* dissipated, it has been said, the illusions of the *juste-milieu* with respect to the lost popularity of the general.

"How is it possible to speak seriously of the popularity of M. de Lafayette, after a day which was more gloomy for him, perhaps, than that of the 20th of June, 1792? What had become of the popularity of M. de Lafayette the 5th of June 1832? For if the man was so powerful, if his name had so much influence upon the national guard and the people, in spite of his resignation, how did it happen that he did not avail himself of it to impose silence upon the factions, who, on the contrary, dictated conditions to him at the moment. Has not his device always been 'Liberty, public order?' How did it happen, that he who could command insurrection, or assuage the popular waves at pleasure, was not able to make himself heard by the national guard, of which he had been the chief? How, in fine, did it happen that this national guard, who *deplored his resignation*, did not come and range itself about him as after the 29th of July? It had been a glorious use to make of his ascendancy and power, to re-establish order as his sole revenge for his withdrawal, able, as he would have been, to dictate conditions afterwards to those who might have dared refuse to recognize his power. Who would have dared deny in this case the popularity of M. de Lafayette? What man of the *juste-milieu*, however bigoted, could any longer have deceived himself as to the lost popularity of M. de Lafayette? But nothing of all this happened; his party exercised violence towards him, and he was dragged against his will in a hack, which has been denominated triumphal.†

"Nevertheless, the insurrection was soon organized on the evening of the 5th. Barricades were erected in a few hours, in the streets of Montmartre, Saint Denis, Saint Martin: the cloister of Saint Méry was the centre of this skilfully directed conspiracy; for the barricades of July, which M. de Lafayette *admired*, were nothing in comparison with the barricades of June. The first were extemporised, whilst the others had been arranged a long time before, and it is known now that there existed various dépôts of arms and munitions, collected at a great expense by the party, who only waited for an occasion of doing against the laws in 1832, what they had legitimately done in 1830 in their defence.

"As soon as the king received intelligence at St. Cloud of the seriousness of the events which had occurred, he said to the queen, 'I am going to Paris; what are your intentions?' to which she answered, 'To accompany you every where.' The king did not wait for an escort. He set out on horseback for Paris, near half past nine in the evening, accompanied by some officers. The peasants who saw him pass, saluted him with cries of *vive le roi!* exclaiming at the same time, 'That one at least is not afraid.' On arriving

\* The general was brought back in a hack pulled by the people. It is affirmed that the horses which had been taken from the vehicle by a patriot officer were not to be found afterwards, and that the general was obliged to reimburse the owner of them for their loss.

† When M. de Lafayette passed in his hack before the station of the *Madeleine*, the commanding officer offered him an escort to conduct him home. M. de Lafayette answered, it is said, 'I thank you, I am with friends.'

at the Tuilleries, before mounting the stair-way of the palace, he visited the post of the national guard and the line. Thence he repaired to the Carousel, where was the first legion of the national guard and some companies of the infantry of the line. Every where he was received with enthusiasm. 'Why can I not, said he, traverse thus all the streets? my presence would do more than muskets; but I am attacked, and I must defend myself; as to the rest, my friends, be tranquil; all this, I hope, is trifling, as we have the people with us.'

"The ministers had repaired to the Tuilleries, from the head-quarters of the national guard, where they were assembled. At midnight, the council met. The necessity of placing Paris in a state of siege was deliberated for the first time. The king was opposed to this measure, which caused the discussion to be postponed to the morrow.

"The 6th, in the morning, the king gave orders to have a horse saddled, in order to ride through the streets of Paris. At eleven o'clock he set out from the Tuilleries, accompanied by the ministers of war, of the interior, and of commerce; he passed in review the troops upon the place of Concord and in the *Champs-Élysées*; thence he followed the Boulevards to the Bastille, visited the barrier of the throne in traversing the faubourg St. Antoine, and returned to the Tuilleries by the quays.

"During this day, by the acknowledgment even of the Opposition, if the cause of the king had not in itself been popular, Louis Philippe would have gained it by his courage. It is certain that near the street *Planche-Mibray*, a shot was heard at the distance of fifty steps from the spot where the king was passing. It was there that he replied to those who represented to him that he was exposing himself too much, 'My children are my best cuirass.' The king went into the Tuilleries through the Louvre, after having traversed the ranks of troops in the Carousel, in the midst of shouts of *vive le roi!* down with the republicans! down with the Carlists!

"The assembled ministers waited for him at the Tuilleries. The king was presiding in the council when the arrival was announced of the three deputies, who demanded a conference: they were MM. Lafitte, Arago and O. Barrot.

"It has been said, that at the moment when the three deputies presented themselves at the Tuilleries, the king was under the influence of a *doctrinaire* deputy, M. Guizot, who had *anticipated* them with the king. It is pretended that a common friend of the three deputies said to them on seeing them: 'Go quick, Guizot is departing.'

"This is false. The king had seen nobody but the ministers, since he had repaired to the council, immediately after having reviewed the troops; and I will even add, that many persons who happened to meet the king on his going out of the council, having begged him not to give audience to the deputies of the Opposition, unless in public, the king refused to listen to their request, and granted a private audience.

The conversation which took place between the deputies and the sovereign has been recorded, M. Pepin says, in an inexact manner, and accordingly he gives a version of it which we translate, as it must be the 'king's own,' no person having been present besides the interlocutors; and the account of M. Sarrans, in all probability, having been furnished by the other side. He does not pretend, he says, to soften any of the severe expressions which were used towards the king in this colloquy, whilst he renders it susceptible, whether the latter was deficient in energy, whether he disavowed any of the acts which were imputed to him as crimes by the Opposition, and whether, on the contrary, he did



not accept, at that moment of trouble, all the responsibility of a system which he deemed adapted to the wants of the country.

"M. O. BARROT first spoke.—'Sire, it is not in the name of the meeting of the deputies which has been held at the residence of M. Laffitte, but it is by the desire of a great proportion of them, that we have come here to express our grief at the sight of the events which afflict the capitol.'

"THE KING.—'They grieve me as much as you.'

"M. O. BARROT.—'Yes, sire, we are persuaded of that; but they deceive you who tell you that tranquillity will soon be re-established. Stop the effusion of blood, or all is lost.'

"THE KING.—'Would to God that I could have prevented all these disorders! It was the dearest wish of my heart. But I have done nothing to provoke them, and I have the satisfaction to think that I have omitted nothing to arrest the evil.'

"M. O. BARROT.—'We fear that your majesty is in error with regard to the true state of things, and the general feeling of the population; and this is what induces us to wish to present to you a faithful picture. The discontent is great, sire; the youth are disaffected, the national guard is very cold, and it will be a gross illusion to suppose that the present perturbation will soon cease.'

"THE KING.—'I think it my duty to say to you that the actual condition of things does not justify those assertions. You are ignorant, without doubt, that every thing is finished at this moment. I have but just dismounted from my horse. I have just traversed Paris, and I believe I may assure you that order is entirely re-established. Force has remained with the law, and the insurrectionary movement is everywhere repressed; everywhere the national guard has rivalled in zeal the troops of the line; everywhere, in fine, they have acted in concert, and the resistance of the factious is futile in every quarter.'

"M. O. BARROT.—'I will take the liberty of observing to your majesty, that this calm is but momentary, and that the complete re-establishment of public tranquillity can hardly be counted upon after such events; it is to be feared that the troubles will recommence.'

"THE KING.—'No one can read the future; we ought all to know how uncertain are our conjectures; but for the present the disorders have ceased.'

"M. O. BARROT.—'Sire, it is in seeking the moral causes of the troubles that the means of preventing their return may be found. We ought not to conceal from your majesty the reproaches which are cast upon your government. Complaints are made that its course has not answered the expectations which the revolution of July gave the right to entertain.'

"THE KING.—'The revolution of July had for its object to resist the violation of the charter; and not only has the charter been maintained, but it has been amended; and M. Laffitte, who is here present, can tell you by whom those amendments were suggested, and what preparatory work was executed in two hours in my cabinet at the Palais-Royal.'

"M. LAFFITTE.—'Nothing is more true.'

"THE KING.—'The charter has then become my sole compass, for that is what I have promised, what I have sworn to maintain, and what I will always be ready to defend with my life.'

"M. O. BARROT.—'I have often heard the same thing from the mouth of your majesty.'

"THE KING.—'Yes, certainly; but it seems to me, gentlemen, that the publicity of my engagements, and the fidelity with which I have observed them, should have shielded me from all the fictions invented with regard to the pretended programme of the Hotel de Ville. M. Laffitte, who was with

me at the Hotel de Ville, knows whether there was a programme. There never was any other than the declaration of the deputies, such as it was read by M. Viennet, the 31st of July, 1830. I have frequently made the same remark to M. de Lafayette, and I am very glad to declare to you again, that this pretended programme is a mere invention, an absurd falsehood.'

"M. O. BARROT.—'It is but too true that insinuations have been ventured on that point, which I myself have often combatted, and my honourable colleagues here present can bear witness to the truth of what I say. I do not wish to reveal the intentions of any one. Unquestionably, opinions have been uttered in the meetings at M. Laffitte's, which are not mine, and which I have heard advocated with great regret; but this distrust, which may be unjust, proceeds, without doubt, from the same cause, namely, the course and the *system* of your government.'

"M. Laffitte then spoke about the system of the 3d of March, which he accused of being contrary to the principle on which the monarchy of the 7th of August rests.

"THE KING.—'This system is the one that has appeared to me to be best adapted to the present interests of France, which desires peace and liberty. Consequently, I ought to have pursued it, and I will always pursue it, in spite of the attacks directed against me; and, in spite of the ridicule which it has been attempted to throw upon the *juste-milieu*, I will not change my system. But you, M. Laffitte, can you say that this system is not the one which you followed first? For it was not created by M. Perier, who only continued the plan of M. Laffitte: as to the rest, there is no need to discuss here vague accusations;—designate the complaints you have to make against the system hitherto pursued.'

"M. Arago spoke of the dissolution of the national guard of Perpignan.

"THE KING.—'This dissolution was commanded by circumstances. But, besides, an isolated act, which was of great importance for the departments of the oriental Pyrenees, which M. Arago represents, cannot be a sufficient reason to attack the system in general.'

"M. Arago hastened to come to the events of Grenoble. He spoke of civil dissensions, of soldiers armed against the citizens.

"THE KING.—'The most unjust insinuations have been propagated respecting that affair. The authorities have been calumniated—the 35th regiment has been calumniated. It was requisite, was it not, to allow authority to be trampled upon? It was requisite to suffer the effigy of the king to be paraded with impunity through the streets, under the form of an animal in the act of being strangled! And because the brave soldiery have undertaken the defence of the king, of the laws, and of public order, they have been censured, and treated as assassins!'

"M. O. BARROT.—'But, sire, how explain the spirit of opposition manifested by the whole youth, if it be not by the want of necessary aliment to their imagination and their sympathies, glory for example, national honour.'

"THE KING.—'But whence have the excited youth derived, during two years past, their doctrines so subversive of all social order? What do they want after all? What signifies this hostility of the journals? Is it only against my government that it is directed? Every body attacks the king and no one defends him. It is deemed quite natural that the chief of the state should be insulted by the press, loaded with contempt, and consigned to infamous caricatures; and when the king is thus outraged, can royalty be respected? Then imaginary wrongs are laid to his charge, and little scruple is made of arming in order to overthrow it. But do not deceive yourselves, gentlemen; the king is strong, because he is always strong who, like me, despises his crown and his life. You are witnesses, you who know me, if I coveted the throne; the people offered it to me, I accepted it, and I will

maintain the will of the people and my rights. It is my duty, it is my honour; on it depends the future fate of my family.'

"M. O. BARROT.—'But this disaffection, sire, does it not proceed from the circumstance that it has been preferred to continue the restoration, to founding the government of July upon a new basis, that is to say, a basis entirely national? Does it not proceed also from the too great consideration with which the fallen party has been treated?'

"THE KING.—'This means that I am accused of not employing sufficient severity against that party. No, I will not persecute. It is necessary to remove from the management of affairs all those who are false to the laws and their country, but it is not for me to play the part of a persecutor. Remember what was said by a member of the convention:—The head of Charles was cut off—the Stuarts returned; James II. was only banished—the Stuarts disappeared for ever from England.'

"'In your *compte-rendu* I am accused of *evil dispositions* with regard to the postponement of the law about banishment. But you, M. Barrôt, you are not ignorant that this delay has occurred only because I wished to avoid a precipitancy far from generous; convinced, moreover, that every thing resembling a spoliation of property was an impolitic and shameful thing for France, and that care should always be taken not to make the princes who are exiled an object of commiseration to foreign powers.'

"M. O. BARROT.—'Sire, our attitude towards those powers has excited the public discontent, and in some manner rendered the government unpopular.'

"THE KING.—'Has not France been respected? Have we been wanting in courage? Have we been placed in a position which was not seemly and worthy of us? Did we not bring aid to our ally Belgium, as soon as she was attacked? All these allegations are the means employed by the enemies of liberty to clog the march of my government, and they have no other object than the ruin of the monarchy.'

"M. O. BARROT.—'It is not to be denied that it is more difficult, at the present day, to govern where there is liberty.'

"THE KING.—'There is less trouble, certainly, in governing at discretion, but we shall be able to accomplish the other. Liberty, when it is not separated from law, is the best of sovereigns. You have spoken of hostility against me; my government, you say, has become unpopular. Are you ignorant that I have just traversed Paris and the barricades, and that every where the cry of *vive le roi!* has greeted me as I passed? Would this have been the case if my government had created such lively discontent? No, no, gentlemen; I will persist in what I believe to be the good of my country, and I have the firm conviction that when passions are calmed, it will be acknowledged that I am in the right and true way. My life is my country's. I know what I owe to it and what I have promised it. You are aware, gentlemen, whether I am false to my promises and my oaths.' The king pronounced these words with warmth, and dismissed the deputies in the most affable manner."

M. Pepin reprobates the conduct of the Opposition, in relation to the conference, in no measured terms. "If," he says, "on the evening of the 8th, after the inoffensive squadrons had been fired upon, on the place of the Bastille, the deputies had sought the king for the purpose of unfolding to him what they considered their legitimate griefs; if they had at first formally disavowed all that had been said and done contrary to the constitutional principles during and after the funeral of Lamarque; if they had really interposed between the factions and the monarch, in order to stop the effusion of blood, their attitude would



have been full of nobleness and candour; it would have been possible to believe in the patriotic sentiments and philanthropy so much vaunted of the Opposition; but on the 6th of June, at four o'clock in the afternoon, what, he asks, had the Opposition to do at the Tuilleries?"

"The king had just made the round of the barricades on horseback, and those gentlemen deigned to repair in a carriage to his residence, in order to discuss with him this and that political opinion, approved or disapproved by the Opposition; and whilst the national guards, during the two days, were risking their lives, so precious for their families, against desperadoes who had nothing to lose, what is to be thought of the patriotism and devotion of the three representatives who postponed to the evening of the 6th of June, the step they ought at least to have taken the evening before, rather than await the issue of the battle? Of what importance could their presence then be at the Tuilleries? What faith could be accorded to their protestations? What signified so dilatory a determination?"

He affirms that the Opposition were aware of what was in preparation for some time past, dating from the death of Perier; and that the *compte-rendu* was an essay, a first step for the encouragement of those who might feel themselves sufficiently strong to translate into gun-shots the anti-constitutional phrases of that document. The Opposition, it will be recollected, threw the blame of those disturbances upon the ministry, who had instigated them, they said, for the purpose of crushing at once all hostility to their despotic measures. Thus it is. "*Conflatâ magnâ invidiâ seu bene, seu malè, gesta premunt*," is a sentiment of Tacitus equally applicable to the anathemas of both the parties against each other. If one hundredth part of the charges they reciprocally make were remotely connected with truth, the description of Erebus in the *Æneid*, would be a fascinating picture in comparison with that which might justly be drawn of a country divided into factions so fiendishly intent upon "tearing the bowels of the mangled" nation.

The placing Paris in a state of siege in consequence of the insurrection, is vindicated by M. Pepin, by the same arguments as were employed by its advocates at the moment—its necessity as a measure of self-defence, which superseded all considerations as to its legality; the previous adoption of a similar procedure towards La Vendée, which had been almost unanimously demanded by the country, and its opportuneness, the revolt not having been entirely suppressed when it was promulgated. The question certainly resolves itself into one of mere fact—was there adequate danger at the time? The positive legality of it is not involved in the consideration at all. The king had as much right to disregard legality, and employ every means in his power against so ruthless an attack during the period of self-defence, as the people had of acting in a similar manner during the three days. But had not that period passed? Was there any longer necessity for re-

sorting to such a weapon? Was there, if we may so speak, a 'dignus vindice nodus?' We think not. The insurrection was substantially quelled; and whatever danger might still continue, it must have been of too trifling a nature to warrant so momentous a step as the exercise of an authority above the laws—a step which nothing can justify but the most alarming crisis. The existence of depots of arms and munitions, in different parts of the city, adduced by our author, was certainly by no means a sufficient excuse, however it may have called for firmness and vigilance. The king himself, as he informs us, was opposed to the majority of the council, concerning the measure, rejecting it as unconstitutional, but was at length induced to yield, by the idea that it was a means of saving the constitution from anarchy. He should have reflected whether it was the only means, for in adopting it he exposed himself to the charge of a disregard of the charter, more flagrant even than that which drove Charles X. from the throne, the fourteenth article having afforded the latter some pretext for his ordinances; but its suppression after the three days, deprived Louis Philippe of the slightest shadow of legal justification for suspending the laws.

The judgment pronounced by the court of cassation, was not, according to our author, against the state of siege itself, but against one of the consequences of that measure, the establishment of military tribunals; but we humbly opine that when the effect is condemned, the cause does not escape scot-free. The result, however, he thinks, would perhaps have been very different if the mistake had not been committed, of submitting so grave a question to a single section of the court, instead of all the chambers united. Perhaps so, and perhaps not. We do not dispute the right of any one to indulge in any hypothesis, however gratuitous, provided it be not absolutely impossible nor extremely improbable.

The course pursued with regard to the Duchess of Berri, is defended as the only one that could well have been adopted. If she had been dragged before the ordinary tribunals, this would have engendered disturbance; and whatever might have been the result of the trial, it would have been encompassed with difficulties. In case of acquittal, the government must have absolved all those who had taken up arms, or encouraged the Vendean insurrection, and then it would have been no less requisite to restrain the indignant population, who had combated for their firesides against the Chouans; and as a triumph would thus have been given to the principle of insurrection, internal peace was at an end in France. If she were condemned, what was to be the punishment? and who could shield the twelve men by whom the verdict was pronounced from the private vengeance of an implacable party? "There were not many Frenchmen, I believe, who would have

relished being one of those persons, either to condemn or acquit." The only thing that could be done, continues M. Pepin, with the knight-errantess, if we may take a liberty with our mother-tongue in using such a term,—was to incapacitate her for doing injury, without subjecting her to a trial in the face of the country, because she was not a common offender; without condemning her, or using any severity towards her, as that would have been an imprudence, politically speaking; and doing these things with the consent of the majority, that is to say, referring the matter to the chambers.—"This was done by the government, and by the ordinance so fiercely assailed, order was preserved, civil war appeased, and the majority could not but approve the measure of the provisional detention, always under the disposal of the chambers, of a prisoner who had only come into Vendée, as it was said, *in order to breathe the air which is breathed in France.*"

M. Pepin is as zealous in his defence of the external policy of the government, as of the rest of its deportment. From this portion of his work we shall translate his remarks in reference to the most important topics. He draws a distinction between two terms which are constantly confounded in political language—liberalism and patriotism. Those liberals, he asserts, who are unceasingly endeavouring to render France the champion of their principles in every part of the globe, to involve their country in a lavish expenditure of blood and treasure, are any thing but patriots in the true acceptation of the word; of which there can be very little doubt. Patriotism is like charity, it must begin at home; else it is more likely to prove a light that leads astray, than the pillar of fire which conducts to the land of promise. Disinterestedness must have its limits, and for the benefit of liberty itself, it is a dangerous experiment to make, that of planting its delicate tree in every region, without knowing whether the soil be of a nature in which it may easily take root—whether the climate be sufficiently genial to allow it to flourish.

After a long argument relative to the principle of non-intervention, M. Pepin considers the question of Poland—a question which it is very difficult to treat with the calmness indispensable for a just appreciation of its character. The intellect is too likely to be clouded with the mists of passion; the tear of sympathy too readily dims the eye, whenever allusion is made to the story of that gallant and unhappy land. But if we do not allow our judgment to be warped, our vision to be troubled, we shall be constrained, it seems to us, to acknowledge the truth of the colours in which the subject is exhibited by our author; we shall be convinced with him, that to break a lance in favour of the Poles, was a piece of Quixotism only inferior to the attack upon the windmills itself.



"What could France do in relation to Poland ?

"France entire testified the highest admiration for the courage and energy of the people of that country, struggling, as they did, single-handed for their independence until the last moment, against a puissant empire, the terrible and inflexible representative of despotism. France, more than any other nation, felt the liveliest sympathy for Poland. The French government was the only one which raised its voice in favour of that unfortunate country, and which, after its ruin, offered asylum, protection and succour to the refugee martyrs of liberty. But why did not France interpose at first between the victim and the slaughterer ? Of what utility to Poland were the lively sympathies of France ?

"To interpose usefully between Poland and Russia, it was necessary to do one of these two things—recognize Poland immediately, and send an army to its assistance; that is, traverse Prussia and Austria; that is, declare war against three powers at a time; or else negotiate with Russia in favour of Poland, and this is what we have done.

"The *enfants perdus* of the Opposition wished to declare war against Europe, without heeding the consequences; and they promoted disturbances to force the government to take that step. Some unreflecting men, suffering themselves to be carried away by their sincere enthusiasm for Poland, believed that it would be possible to obtain its independence without engaging in a war.

"It must be acknowledged that the worst policy, is the policy of sentiment. There is no good policy but that which rests upon the living interests of the country—a fact which was recognized in the outset, by the men who first undertook the direction of affairs after the three days, and all thought with M. de Lafayette, that 'the French, people are filled with respect and consideration for the treaties of nations.' And at a later period, they were far from regarding war as a desirable thing, when they said in the *Compte-rendu*: 'Let it not be supposed that a firm language, in reference to Poland, would have engendered a war.' They feared war then.

"But if they feared war, the firm language of the *Compte-rendu* was not the means of preventing it. For what could this firm language of France to Russia be? France would have said: 'If you wish to enslave Poland, France will not allow it.' But if, as is very probable, Russia had disregarded the intimation, France, under pain of being *démonitisée* in the eyes of the other powers, would have been obliged to sustain her words with an army. This would have been war, in spite of the Opposition who signed the *Compte-rendu*, and who, nevertheless, desired war no more than the government. The fate of Poland, then, must be deplored, but to save it was impossible.

"But if the local position of Poland with regard to France, from which it is separated by the distance of four hundred leagues—when, moreover, it was shut up between two neutral powers, whom the least movement of France could not have failed to render hostile to Poland—if this position was a motive for preventing the interference of France, it was not the same case with regard to Belgium, adjoining France, of which it is the van-guard. It was not therefore a policy of sentiment which caused the intervention of France for Belgium; and it is certain that if devotedness is always an admirable thing in individuals, it is not so in a nation. Those who are entrusted with the government of men ought to take good care how they lightly stake the interests of society for the vain boast of having caused the country to perform an act of proselytism, which can often have no other result than that of completely convulsing the country for a long time.

"Such would have been the infallible consequence of the *firm language* excogitated by the Opposition, who, after having demanded the intervention of France for Poland and Italy, censured violently our entrance into Belgium, and coldly supported the taking of Antwerp.

## "OF ITALY.

"The independence of the Italian provinces, it has been said, ought to have been recognized. But what provinces? Were two or three little cities a sufficient motive for troubling the peace of Europe? And, admitting that it was reasonable to recognize this independence, under what forms should this recognition have been made? Was it necessary to proclaim the republics of Bologna, Ravenna and Forli, that is, to renew the unfortunate essays and recommence the dreams of the fourteenth or nineteenth centuries? But to sustain these diminutive republics, all organized at Paris, and which would have had, as facts have demonstrated, no sympathy in the country itself where they were to be established, permanent French armies would have been indispensable in Italy, to keep in check the Pope and Austria; and as we would not have possessed an inch of ground in Italy, since we should have made war through disinterestedness, devoid of all spirit of conquest, on the departure of the French troops, the Italian governments defended by us would have again fallen into the hands of the Austrians, as after the first revolution. Such a system was contrary to the interests of Italy and of France. The interest of the former could not have been to separate itself from the Pope, under pain of being dismembered and invaded by Austria; the interest of the latter could not have been to run the risk of a useless war with Austria, perhaps with Europe, for two provinces. It was the duty of France, therefore, to employ every means, save force, to cause the Austrians to evacuate the pontifical states, that is, to negotiate. But if this means failed, it was necessary, without interfering directly and immediately, as in the case of Belgium, where a vital and positive interest of France was involved, to endeavour to re-establish the equilibrium of southern Italy between the Pope and Austria, in order to maintain, as much as possible, Italian unity with regard to Austria, in order to afford liberty the power of gradual development, instead of exposing it to the hazard of staking every thing, by running the risk of extending the Austrian frontier to the foot of the Appenines.

"It is easy to understand, then, the object of the expedition to Ancona, so decried and misjudged by the Opposition.

## "ANCONA.

"If the action of France in the affairs of Italy was not in virtue of the system of propagandism,—for, in the words of M. Laffitte, liberty imported into a country is a more fatal present than despotism,—of what nature could that action be? An action of influence, which, whilst it avoided war, had for its object to secure to France a position in Italy both disinterested and pacific. It was necessary to prove to Europe that the tri-coloured flag was not the flag of anarchy, but an emblem of liberty and order. What then was our conduct in relation to Ancona?

"In order to obtain, without disorder and collision, the amelioration of the condition of the Italians, we have insisted, on one hand, upon the promulgation of edicts of reform, a gage of this amelioration, and demanded by us from the pontifical power; on the other hand, we have planted at Ancona the tri-coloured standard in the face of the Austrians, a standard of glory and of triumph, keeping in awe the satellites of despotism who recollect but too well that signal so often witnessed, and on that very account are interested in not taking a step against the will of the French, under pain of again beholding, by the mere force of circumstances, the whole world upturned in the name of liberty.

"Thus we entered into Ancona, and will remain there as long as our presence shall be necessary for the repose of the Italian provinces; and we will continue allies of the Italians and the Pope, without being enemies of

Austria—the generous and enlightened arbitrators between the despotic tendencies of Austria, the liberal but still premature importunities of the Italian people, and the pretensions of the pontifical power.

“The expedition to Ancona was made, then, in the interest of Italy, as well as in that of France, since on the one side Italian independence was maintained, and on the other we forced the pope to issue edicts of reform favourable to liberty, without disorder, without convulsion, and without war with Austria.

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“The attack and the capture of Antwerp was not an isolated affair. The Belgic question was an European question, inasmuch as the revolution, whose object it was to separate Belgium from Holland, was necessarily an infraction of the treaties of 1815, which had recognized the union. But, this revolution having been accomplished, it was incumbent on France to support it under pain of ceasing to exist, and when she declared that she would not suffer any interference in Belgium, she sustained the declaration in the face of the powers. This proclamation of the principle of non-intervention was founded upon our most real and immediate interest; and not only did the powers yield, but they even concurred with us in the consolidation of Belgium.

“It has been said that Belgium would unavoidably become a French province; but those who promulgated that idea, manifested profound ignorance of men and things. Without doubt the Belgic people feel a lively sympathy for France, but this sympathy does not extend to the point of self-annihilation; and if France had evinced that desire, the necessary result would have been at first, the alienation of the Belgic provinces, who are very willing to have France for an ally, but would prefer, perhaps, a restoration with the prince of Orange, to seeing Brussels a city of France. The most probable result would have been the partition of Belgium, which would have rendered Holland stronger, and been detrimental to France, inasmuch as it was very dangerous for her to allow any power whatever with whom Belgium might have been shared, to approach her frontiers.

“Instead of that, Belgium has been declared neutral. But it was a neutrality favourable to France, especially as it was accompanied with constitutional institutions in harmony with those of France, who took the country under her protection; which signified what the issue has proved, that France would make any power repent that did not respect this neutrality. And when Belgium resolved upon having a king, France did well not to impose the duke of Nemours upon it, as in this case, it would always have been regarded by the different powers as a French province, and every war with them in relation to Belgium would have been considered as a war undertaken for a family interest.

“By the capture of Antwerp, the separation was rendered complete and irrevocable; Belgium has the freedom of the Scheldt, and the unrestricted navigation of the rivers and canals of Holland. She possesses Antwerp instead of Maëstricht; her commerce is increased; her advantages in this respect are ample compensation for the loss of a portion of the Luxembourg, for which she has even obtained in exchange the provinces of Liege, Philippeville and Mariembourg.

“France gains much by this arrangement. In the first place, neutral Belgium is a line interposed between the ambition of the powers jealous of France, and if this neutrality is violated, Belgium becomes the van-guard of the French armies. Moreover, what was directed against us, has turned to our advantage. The strong places erected by the holy alliance are no longer opposed to us, but, on the contrary, will aid in defending us against invasion.



"Thus the capture of Antwerp has given benefit, honour and glory to France.

"I have said that this event was not an isolated affair. It is certain that if, as is repeated every day by the leaders of the Opposition, the holy alliance still existed in reality; if the powers retained any feeling of rancour towards the revolution of July, the intervention of France in Belgium against Holland was a favourable occasion for sustaining the rights of the alliance, by maintaining Holland such as she was constituted by the treaties of 1815: a general war must have followed the attack upon Antwerp by France. Instead of that, Prussia remained with shouldered arms, gazing at our proceedings; Austria did not move; and Russia, who, perhaps, was not deficient in good will for fighting, was reduced to impotency, on one hand, on account of the union of England and France, and, on the other, on account of the immobility of the two other powers. Whence it must be concluded that the siege of Antwerp was an European question which twenty-five days sufficed to solve in favour of the system pursued by France for the last two years; and as France formerly gave the signal for war to Europe, in the same way France now imposes peace upon the world. And when, moreover, the individual moral condition is examined of every nation in Europe, it may be predicted that peace is now the general want, and that every thing must tend to consolidate the actual order of things, as being the best guarantee of the spirit of conservation which all the European states cherish.

The last chapter in the volume is occupied by a re-statement and enforcing of the three facts asserted in the Preface, and by a sort of recapitulatory argument to prove that the system pursued by the government is the only logical consequence of the revolution. For our own parts, although we are no especial admirers of Louis Philippe personally; whilst we are far from thinking that it would be an impracticable task to demonstrate that no injustice has been done by the charges preferred against him of a want of ingenuousness and directness; whilst we are fully aware of the serious errors, and even stretches of authority, which he has committed, such as his prosecutions of the press, the *état de siège*, the fortifications around Paris, and others; we are yet compelled to acknowledge that his government has been marked, on the whole, by admirable energy, firmness and talent, and generally conducted with a reference to the best interests of the country. What motive, indeed, can he have in acting counter to those interests? Surely, the idea could never have taken possession of his mind, in his wildest dreams, that he might be able to succeed in grasping a despotic sceptre, even supposing (for which there is not the shadow of a reason) a disposition of the kind to exist. Having accepted a throne which was pressed upon him as indispensable for the well-being of the community, his primary object was to maintain himself upon it, and we do not see, all the circumstances considered, how this could have been effected by a less vigorous course. He may have overshoot the mark in a few instances, but his situation is so difficult, so anomalous, that whilst we set down nought in malice, we should not adhere too strictly to the first part of the precept enjoining the extenuation of nothing.

His conduct, at all events, has received the approbation of two successive chambers of deputies, and no better criterion of its fitness can be required by those who view events dispassionately from a distance. There is every reason to suppose, in spite of the invectives of faction, that quite as much patriotism, at least, exists at present in the house, to use the English term, as there was to be found in it under Charles the 10th, when the majority placed themselves in array against his attempts upon the public weal. They pay but a poor compliment to the revolution, who accuse the chambers formed since that era, of suffering themselves to be unduly influenced. It would be better to have Polignac and company, with a legislature such as they had to deal with, than any government, however specious in appearance, with a body of representatives whom it could wield at will; as there would always, in the first instance, be sentinels on the alert to sound the alarm of danger, and stand in the van of the contest, whilst, in the other, the masked enemy would gain unexpected access into the camp, and involve in sudden destruction the unprepared and unresisting crowd.

In support of the assertion that the present government has promoted the best interests of those with whose welfare it is entrusted, it is only requisite to advert to facts—to what has been undeniably accomplished by it in the fulfilment of its charge. Have not as many modifications, and all in the spirit of liberty, been introduced into the charter, and as many laws of the highest utility and importance, been enacted, as time and circumstances would admit? Has not the country been preserved in the possession of the greatest of blessings, peace, without any compromise of the national honour, whatever assertions to the contrary may have been made by the vindictiveness of faction, or the fatuity of error? for has it not in all the instances in which it was justifiable, thrown down the gauntlet to Europe—in the instances of Belgium, Ancona and Antwerp? Has not the ship of state, in short, been conducted through as perilous a channel as was ever navigated by a political vessel, with a degree of success, demonstrative of a perfect knowledge on the part of the helmsman of all the rocks and shoals by which its safety was threatened, as well as a steadiness and skill commanding an eulogium of the strongest kind? And is it not now sailing, if not on an unruffled, at least on no boisterous sea, with propitious winds, a flattering horizon, a determined course? What folly then to invoke a change in the aspect of the heavens, which may entail fearful darkness and danger, from which all perception of escape is impossible. ‘*In tranquillo mare, tempestatem adversam optare dementis est.*’

A moment's reflection must satisfy every one that the French, at the present instant, are as completely upon the high road of

national happiness, as it is possible for them to be. All that is requisite is, that they should not hurry onwards with that excessive velocity so much to be apprehended from their impetuosity of temperament. *Festina lente* is the maxim on which they must consent to act; and if they do consistently act upon it, they may confidently trust in the accomplishment of 'visions of glory,' quite as enviable, if not as splendid, as those which in reference to the destiny of the mistress of the world, the Roman poet causes the father of gods and men to unfold before the eyes of the Cytherean queen, in order to console her for the sufferings which her pious offspring was doomed to undergo.

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ART. VII.—*The Duchess of Berri in La Vendée; comprising a Narrative of her Adventures, with her Private Papers and Secret Correspondence.* By GENERAL DERMONCOURT, who arrested her Royal Highness at Nantes. London, 1833.

THE adventures of the heroic, we may say furious, Duchess of Berri, excited lively interest in America as well as in Europe.—The spectacle of a female, of a royal race, nursed in luxury and ease, placing herself at the head of an army to undergo all the fatigues of a partisan warfare, and subjecting herself to danger, defeat, and even the risk of death, for the purpose of sustaining, by her single efforts, the falling fortunes of her house, would naturally induce a general sympathy; and we might think, that even a stern republican would be excusable if he had rejoiced in her success. All these sympathies, which the prolongation of the contest served to increase, were dissipated and dashed to the ground in a way that is fresh in the recollections of our readers. This female Achilles was found to have a vulnerable heart; and while we were the most disposed to admire her chivalric bearing and devotion, we had painful evidence that she was not exempt from the weakness of her sex. The mal-à-propos, and, in fact, ridiculous dénouement of the melo-drama, turned the whole of what at first bore strong characteristics of the age of chivalry, into broad farce—and we forgot, in our laughter, all the noble traits of her conduct.—The event was one eminently calculated, with the French people, to dissipate the dreams of her admirers and followers, and to tear rudely and suddenly from her shoulders, the mantle of heroism. They are, as a nation, it is well known, peculiarly sensible to the ridiculous; and the occurrence was, therefore, fitted to mortify and scatter her followers, and destroy the hopes of



the Carlists. If Louis Philippe himself had planned a possible event, the most likely to sustain his cause, he could not have framed one more apt for his purpose than that which the indiscretion of his antagonist supplied. We believe that all, even the warmest admirers of legitimacy, gave up the struggle in despair, and hung their heads in mortification and shame, with the exception of the enthusiastic and devoted Chateaubriand—devoted, heart and soul, to the cause of legitimacy and the Bourbons. The book, whose title we have placed at the head of this article, is ostensibly the production of a General Dermoncourt, who finally arrested the duchess at Nantes. He had previously been appointed to the command of the military sub-division at that city. The work has been translated into English, and some notes added by the translator. Who he is we know not; and we are therefore doubtful as to the degree of credit to be accorded to certain assertions of importance which he has appended to the text. The general would seem, from the manner in which he has narrated his story, to be really a fine fellow; a sturdy republican, a good officer, and a brave man; and to possess the qualities of the gentleman as well as the soldier. The book is well written, with great naiveté and candour. In many parts, it is exceedingly severe upon the course of conduct pursued by the *juste-milieu* system, and upon the characters of some of the leaders of that party.

The events of the insurrection in La Vendée are not, in an historical point of view, of any great importance. The expedition of Marie Caroline was undertaken at a moment very unpropitious for success; and the duration of the contest (if it may be dignified with the name) was in a great measure owing to the lenity or remissness of the French government itself. She embarked, too, in the project, contrary to the advice of her best and most experienced friends; but as obstinacy is a chief trait in her character, having once imbibed the idea of placing her son upon the throne, nothing could expel it from her mind. But though in the point of view we have alluded to, the incidents of the duchess' military movements may not be considered of primary consequence, the narration, as given by General Dermoncourt, throws much light upon the political situation of La Vendée, the character of the peasantry of that district, their mode of warfare, and also the personal dispositions and conduct of the Duchess of Berri. All these possess considerable interest, and are connected by the author with anecdotes of a very stirring and romantic nature. We shall give a brief account of the affair, culling from the book under review, the parts which seem most likely to reward attention, and presenting them as a *bonne bouche* to our readers—an agreeable variety, after the graver matter which necessarily forms a part of a periodical work of this description.

The Bourbons, for the third time (such is our author's beautiful remark), were wafted by the wind of revolution in full sail, far away from the shores of France. Probably the only part of that kingdom which saw them depart with regret, was the district denominated La Vendée. The Chouans give this generic name to five of the departments into which the country is divided. That district contains a peasantry of a peculiar kind, and it would seem that an attachment to the regular and legitimate line of Bourbon descent is as intimately blended with their natures as their religious faith. Their dispositions will be manifest from the extracts we shall offer. This trait was formerly as conspicuous in the nobles of the district as in the peasants. But in the former a considerable change has been produced, the natural result of the deep political agitations in which their country has been involved. The peasantry, on the other hand, appear to have almost escaped the influence even of the tornado of revolution.

This change in the nobility of the district would seem to have been concealed from the knowledge of the duchess, as well as the general state of feeling in France in regard to her family. The Duchess of Berri was completely deluded in her supposition that the country generally was disposed to rise in favour of the young Henry; a mistake which she herself afterwards acknowledged, and into which she was led (whether ignorantly or designedly we know not), by the accounts transmitted to her. Probably her restless disposition, which never permitted her to be quiet,\* prompted her to make the attempt, and try the hazard of the die.

We shall give, in the general's language, the account of the alteration which has occurred in the political condition of this part of France since the revolution of 1794, and also his description of the character of a Vendean peasant. The author writes well and understands his subject:

"La Vendée, in 1830, was no longer the same as in 1794: its population, formerly divided into nobles and farmers only, had since the latter period produced a class which had glided in between the two others—namely, the owners of national property. Although the sale of national property, a great territorial measure originating with the convention, was with difficulty effected in this province, then distracted by civil war, there are, nevertheless, few great land-owners in it who have not left some shreds of their inheritance in the hands of the revolution. These shreds have constituted a secondary property, in which the spirit of improvement and of liberty exists; because improvement and liberty can alone secure the peaceable possession of it, and all counter-revolution must naturally throw a doubt upon the legality of the tenure by which it is held. It is this class of property which, by its reaction upon the nobility, who are superior in fortune to those holding it, the latter being however superior in number, has sent to the legislature, ever since 1815, patriot

\*It was a favourite amusement of her highness, in walking along the shore of the sea, with her maids, to endeavour to push them into the waves.

deputies, whose presence there might seem a problem without this explanation. The owners of this property were delighted at the revolution in 1830, because they saw that it was a child of that of 1793; they would therefore naturally consider it a consecration of the sale of national property, and consequently support it with all their might."

Again, at page 21, he says:

"The eternal wars of Napoleon had, as we all know, necessitated conscriptional levies, which, during the latter part of his reign, had become more and more frequent. The five departments which the Chouans unite under the generic name of La Vendée, had, like every other department, been subjected to this species of decimation; and, among the individuals thus forced to follow the conqueror in his armed promenades, were many of the children of La Vendée. Such among the latter as did not remain scattered over the field of battle, returned home with ideas very different from those with which they had set out. Their notions had been changed by the new world they had lived in, and still more by their contact with men to whom hatred of the Bourbons seemed a paramount duty. To these, the fall of Napoleon was a source of grief—the entrance of the allied troops, a disgrace; and from this period they had maintained patriotic opinions, more deeply implanted in their bosoms by the constant sight of their crosses and their epaulets suspended over their mantel-pieces, than the feelings of their adversaries were nurtured by the sight of the bleeding heart and English carbine.

"Trade had likewise operated its work of improvement, being carried on by means of the new roads cut by Napoleon through beds of solid rock. And, in fact, on both sides bordering upon the highways, the most patriotic spirit everywhere reigns; but this feeling cools in proportion as you advance on either side into the less frequented parts of the country, and in a short time totally disappears. Thanks to these new elements, which have operated in favour of our modern ideas, the seeds of civil war have become less difficult to root out in La Vendée."

"The people of La Vendée are grave, cold, and silent; they slowly and laboriously discuss every project, alternately weighing each chance of success and of failure. And when the former seems to preponderate in the balance, the Vendean holds out his hand, says YES, and dies if necessary in the fulfilment of his promise. But, as he knows that YES and NO are to him words of life and death, he is slow in giving them utterance."

The district is particularly calculated for a protracted and difficult warfare. It is diversified throughout with wide and deep ditches, hedges, bushes and trees, sometimes between two slopes, which offer every facility for ambuscades and secret attacks upon unsuspecting or even alert and disciplined invaders. The graphic description by general Dermoncourt of the common features of a warfare among the Chouans, which we now offer, we would especially recommend to the notice of our readers. It is at page 29 of the book.

"When a day is fixed to strike a blow, at daybreak, or even during the night, the tocsin is sounded in the village designated as the point of union. The neighbouring villages reply in the same manner; the villagers quit their cottages, if it be in the night, or their ploughs if in the day, throwing upon their shoulder the gun, which they scarcely ever quit. Having stuffed their belt with cartridges, they tie their handkerchief round a broad-brimmed hat, which shades



their sunburnt countenances, stop at their church to utter a short prayer, then, inspired with a twofold faith in God, and in the justice of their cause, they wend their way from all parts of the country to the common centre. Their chiefs soon arrive, who acquaint them with the cause of their being assembled; and if the object be to attack some patriot column, these chiefs state the road which the column will pursue, and the hour it will pass. Then, when this information is well understood by all, the chief in command gives them the plan of the battle in the following words:

“*Eparpillez vous, mes gars!*”

“Scatter yourselves, my fine fellows!”

“Immediately each breaks, not from the ranks, but from the group—marches off his own way, proceeds onwards with precaution and in silence, and in a short time every tree, every bush, every tuft of furze bordering either side of the high road, conceals a peasant, with a gun in one hand, and supporting himself with the other, crouched like a wild beast, without motion, and scarcely breathing.

“Meanwhile, the patriot column, uneasy at the thought of some unknown danger, advances towards the defile, preceded by scouts, who pass without seeing, touch without feeling, and are allowed to go by scathless; but the moment the detachment is in the midst of the pass, jammed in between two sloping banks, and unable to deploy either to the right or to the left,—a cry, sometimes in imitation of that of an owl, issues from one extremity, and is repeated along the whole line of ambuscade. This indicates that each is at his post. A human cry succeeds—one of war and of death. In an instant each bush, each tuft of furze, glares with a sudden flash, and a shower of balls strikes whole files of soldiers to the earth without their being able to perceive the enemies who slaughter them. The dead and wounded lie piled upon each other on the road; and if the column is not thrown into disorder, and the voices of the officers are heard above the firing,—if, in short, the troops attempt to grapple body to body with their assailants, who strike without showing themselves,—if they climb the slope, like a glacis, and scale the hedge, like a wall, the peasants have already had time to retire behind a second inclosure, whence the invisible firing recommences as murderous as before. Should this second hedge be stormed, in the same manner, ten, twenty, nay, a hundred similar intrenchments offer successive shelter to this destructive retreat; for the country is thus divided for the security of the children of the soil, which seems to show a maternal solicitude for their preservation, by offering them a shelter every where, and their enemies every where a grave.

“What we have just stated explains how the convention, which had conquered fourteen armies, commanded by kings and princes, could never pacify La Vendée, kept in a state of rebellion by a few peasants; and how Napoleon, who dictated his will to the whole of Europe, could never succeed in getting his orders executed in three of the departments of France.”

The duchess procured, in the year 1831, from the ex-king, letters addressed to the royalists of France, requesting them to acknowledge her as regent of the kingdom. She passed through Holland and entered Piedmont, under the name of the Countess Sagana. Her presence was no secret, and in consequence of a letter from the cabinet of the Tuilleries, king Charles Albert, in a long diplomatic note, politely requested her to leave his dominions. She was much irritated, and among other things remarked:

“Royalty is disappearing like architecture. My great-grandfather built palaces, my grandfather built houses, my father built huts, and my brother will

no doubt build rats'-nests. But, God willing, my son, when it comes to his turn, shall build palaces again."

She accordingly left that country, and arrived in La Vendée in May, 1832, while the police, guided by some intimations they had received, were in search of her in the south of France. Her landing was effected in the neighbourhood of Marseilles, in a small boat, into which, from the steamer, the duchess insisted upon going, accompanied by General Bourmont and M. de Ménars, General Dermoncourt remarks:

"It was by a miracle that so slight a vessel was able, during three hours, to resist so heavy a sea. The duchess on this occasion was what she always is in real danger—calm, and almost gay. She is one of those frail, delicate beings whom a breath would be supposed to have power to bend, and yet who only enjoy existence with a tempest either over their head or in their bosom.

It was expected by the duchess that a revolt would break out in Marseilles, which she hoped would place that city in her power. Some disturbances did occur, which, however, were repressed. The duchess's situation, in the immediate vicinity, was extremely dangerous. It became highly necessary for her to adopt one of two courses: either to cross the Alps and descend into Piedmont; or, turning westward, to traverse France in nearly its whole breadth, and take shelter in La Vendée. She adopted the latter plan. The particulars of her journey we shall extract from the narrative:

"She was desirous of taking advantage of the darkness of the night to make the first stage as long as possible. They had neither horse, nor mule, nor carriage; but the duchess declared that she was a very good walker. Nothing was now wanting but a guide; and the owner of the hut having offered his services, the mother of Henry V. replied by repeating her orders for instant departure.

"The Duchess of Berri had a friend residing in the neighbourhood of Montpellier, upon whose fidelity and attachment she could depend. It was therefore advisable to reach his house as soon as possible; but as the high roads were, no doubt, already guarded, and a woman and two men of the appearance of the princess and her companions, travelling on foot, whether they journeyed by day or by night, could not possibly escape the attention of the police, her royal highness asked the guide if he knew of any road through the mountains, and on his replying in the affirmative, exclaimed, 'Then lead the way.'

"The little party now left the sea shore. The night was dark, and they could distinguish Marseilles at the other extremity of the bay only by its numerous lights, which twinkled like stars. Now and then a murmur arose from the agitated city, and being carried forward by a low and humid current of air, reached the ears of the travellers. Then the duchess would turn round, cast another parting glance towards the city of her lost hopes, and again resume her wearisome journey with a sigh. These symptoms of regret did not, however, last long; and no sooner had she lost sight of Marseilles, than she seemed to have forgotten her disappointment, and to think of nothing but the road, the difficulties and ruggedness of which increased with every step of her progress. The night was so dark, that the travellers could with difficulty

see where they placed their feet; and in this way they walked on during five consecutive hours. The guide then stopped; every trace of the pathway had disappeared, and the party found themselves in the midst of rocks, with a few stunted olive trees scattered here and there. The guide betrayed evident marks of indecision, and, on being questioned by the travellers, at length confessed that he had deviated from the path, the darkness having prevented him from following it, and that he knew not where they then were. He begged he might be allowed to set out alone, and seek the path, promising to return for the duchess and her companions the moment he had found it. But as this man might possibly prove a traitor, who had led them out of their road the more easily to betray them, General de Bourmont oppose his being allowed to depart. The duchess, on the other hand, was so dreadfully tired, that she could walk no further. The preceding night had, however, seasoned her to the life of bivouac she was about to pursue; she therefore wrapped herself in her warm cloak, laid her head upon a portmanteau, and was soon as fast asleep as if she had been in her bed at the Tuilleries. Meanwhile, her companions kept watch over her as well as over the guide.

At dawn of day the duchess awoke. The instant there was light enough, the guide discovered where he was. He had wandered two leagues from the path he ought to have followed, and to regain which, it was necessary to cross, for the space of a league, a tract of open country, where they would run the danger of being recognized and taken. The duchess perceiving a country seat at a little distance, asked to whom it belonged.

"'To a furious republican,' the guide answered; 'and, what is more, he is Maire of the commune of C\*\*\*.'

"'Very well' replied the princess, 'conduct me thither.'

Her companions looked at her with astonishment.

"'Gentlemen,' she said, in the tone of voice which she always assumes when her determination is irrevocable, turning towards them, and without giving them time to speak, 'the moment is come when we must part. There is less danger for us separately than if we remained together. Monsieur de Bourmont, you shall receive my orders at Nantes; proceed thither, and wait there for me. Monsieur de Ménars, do you reach Montpellier; there I will let you know where I am. Adieu, gentlemen; I wish you a safe journey, and may God be with you!'

"So saying, she gave them her hand to kiss, and took leave of them. They both withdrew, well knowing that remonstrance would be vain.

"The duchess, on finding herself alone, repeated her order to the guide to conduct her to the house of the maire. In a quarter of an hour they were in the maire's drawing-room, and notice was given to the master of the house that a lady wanted to speak to him in private. He made his appearance in about ten minutes, and the duchess advanced to meet him.

"'Sir,' said she, 'you are a republican, I know; but no political opinions can be applied to a proscribed fugitive. I am the Duchess of Berri,—and I am come to ask you for an asylum.'

"'My house is at your service, Madame.'

"'Your office enables you to provide me with a passport, and I have depended on your getting one for me.'

"'I will procure you one.'

"'I must to-morrow proceed to the neighbourhood of Montpellier; will you afford me the means of doing so?'

"'I will myself conduct you thither.'

"'Now, sir,' continued the duchess, holding out her hand to him, 'order a bed to be got ready for me, and you shall see that the Duchess of Berri can sleep soundly, even under the roof of a republican.'

"Next evening the duchess was near Montpellier; she had travelled thither in the maire's char-à-banc, seated by his side. As soon as M. de



Ménars had joined her, preparations were made for her departure. Her royal highness and M. de Ménars got into a calash; the Marquis de L—, wrapped up in a box-coat, took the coachman's seat; and the travellers, with regular passports, took the high road from Montpellier to Carcassone. They were to stay a day at Toulouse, whence they were to proceed, by way of Bordeaux, to a chateau situated in the neighbourhood of St. Jean d'Angely, and belonging to a friend of the Marquis de L—, who answered for the fidelity of this friend, though the latter was not aware of the visit he was about to receive. It was from this chateau that the duchess was to give notice of her arrival to the legitimatists at Paris, and disseminate her first proclamations in La Vendée.

"The Duchess of Berri left Toulouse the same night; continued her journey next day in an open calash; passed through Bordeaux without stopping; crossed the Dordogne at Cublac, and in descending as far as Blaye, passed close along the walls of that citadel, which she then little thought would one day become the place of her captivity. This was the direct road to the chateau inhabited by *one of her friends*; an expression invariably used by the duchess when she spoke of any of her party. She was accompanied in this journey only by M. de Ménars, and by the Marquis de L—, who served as her guide.

"At eleven o'clock the same night, the carriage stopped at the gate of a chateau. The Marquis de L— left the coach-box, and rang at the gate with the violence of one not inclined to wait. The loudness of the ring and the lateness of the hour brought out the master himself.

"'It is I—de L—,' said the marquis on perceiving him: 'open the gate quickly, for I bring you her royal highness the Duchess of Berri.'

"The master of the house started back with surprise and dismay.

"'The Duchess of Berri!' he stammered out. 'What, madame?'

"'Yes, she herself;—open the gate quickly.'

"'But you are not aware that I have twenty visitors in the house, all of whom are now assembled in the drawing-room, and—'

"'Sir,' said the duchess, opening the blinds of the carriage, 'have you not by any chance a female cousin living fifty leagues from this place?'

"'Yes, madame.'

"'Well then, open the gate, and introduce me to these twenty visitors as your cousin.'

"There was no replying to this; and the master of the house, who had only made these objections in his anxiety for the safety of the duchess, instantly opened the gate. The fair heroine now leaped from the carriage, put her arm under his, and proceeded towards the house.

Meanwhile the visitors, on perceiving the absence of their host, had most of them withdrawn to their bed-rooms, so that when the duchess entered with M. de Ménars and the Marquis de L—, she found, in the drawing-room, only the lady of the house and two or three persons with her. The introduction was therefore less awkward.

"Next morning the duchess came down to breakfast, underwent her second introduction, and played her part of cousin so naturally, that no one present had the least suspicion of her not being the person she represented. It fortunately happened that not one of the guests had ever seen her before.

"On the following Sunday, the curé of the little commune of S—, to whose flock the inhabitants of the chateau belonged, came thither as usual to breakfast, and to him the duchess was introduced in the same manner that she had been introduced to the other guests, as the cousin of the master of the house. The curé gravely advanced towards her royal highness to offer his respects, but stopped suddenly in the middle of the room, with such an air of stupefaction that the duchess burst out laughing.

"The good priest had been presented to the Duchess of Berri, and had taken up an address to her, when she came to Rochfort in 1828. He seemed

now to associate the features of the pretended cousin with his recollections of her royal highness.

“‘What is there in my cousin’s countenance that makes so strong an impression upon you?’ said the master of the house.

“‘Why there is,’ said the curé, stammering; ‘this is madame—your—cousin—oh! but it is really surprising.’

“‘What is surprising?’ said the duchess, much amused at the priest’s embarrassment.

“‘There is that—your royal highness is like Monsieur ——’s cousin—I mean that Monsieur ——’s cousin resembles your royal highness. The fact is, I took you for—and even now—I could almost swear that——’

“‘The duchess laughed like a mad woman. At this moment the bell announced breakfast.

“‘The duchess was seated at the breakfast-table opposite to the curé, who, being still pre-occupied by the strange resemblance, kept looking at the cause of his embarrassment, and forgot to eat; or if his absence of mind was mentioned to him, he would raise his fork to his mouth instinctively, and, immediately replacing it upon his plate, exclaim—‘It is incredible! never did such a likeness exist before.’”

After some further adventures which she passed through in the disguise of a peasant boy, her hair hid under a coarse brown wig, and among other mishaps, falling into the river in crossing a bridge on the Maine, a little below Remouillé, she arrived, on the 17th of May, at a wretched cottage in the neighbourhood of Nantes. She, thence, sent information to general Bourmont of her arrival. That officer had reached Nantes, after traversing France by the way of Lyons and Moulins. The duchess had determined upon a general rising of the inhabitants, and despatched her letters and emissaries in every direction.

The dispatches which the duchess had transmitted to Paris, excited strong apprehensions for her fate in the minds of her friends in that city. It was determined, after an anxious consultation, to send some one to remonstrate with her on the rashness of her project, and to persuade her to leave the country. The celebrated Carlist advocate, M. Berryer, was selected for this purpose. The service was both difficult and dangerous. We shall extract the greater part of our author’s account of his journey; it is very interesting in itself, and exemplifies, in a powerful manner, the fidelity and intelligence of the Vendean peasants.

After conferring with Bourmont at Nantes, who fully concurred with the other friends of the duchess in their views, our author says:

“‘At two o’clock in the afternoon, M. Berryer got into a small hack cabriolet, and, as he entered it, asked the duchess’s confidential agent at Nantes, what road he was to take, and where she resided. The agent replied by pointing to a peasant at the corner of the street, mounted on a dapple-gray horse, saying:—‘Look at that man;—you have only to follow him.’

“‘In fact, no sooner did the peasant perceive the cabriolet in motion than he trotted forward, so that M. Berryer could follow without losing sight of him. In this manner they crossed the bridges and entered the open country. The peasant never once turned his head towards the person he was guiding,

but jogged on with such apparent carelessness and inattention, that M. Berryer more than once thought himself the dupe of some mystification. With regard to the cab-driver, as he was not in the secret, he could give no information about the road they were pursuing; and when, on his asking whither he was to drive, his fare had merely replied, 'Follow that man,' he strictly obeyed the injunction, and took no more notice of the guide than the latter took of him.

"After a journey of two hours and a half, during which M. Berryer felt considerable uneasiness, they arrived at a small town, and the peasant on horseback stopped in front of the only inn it contained, and alighted. The cab immediately drew up at the same place, and M. Berryer got out. The peasant then continued his journey on foot, and M. Berryer, having told the cab-driver to wait for him there till six o'clock the next evening, instantly followed his strange guide.

"Having advanced about a hundred yards, the guide entered a house; and as during this short walk M. Berryer had gained upon him, he followed close at his heels. The man opened the door of the kitchen, where the mistress of the house was alone, and pointing to M. Berryer, who was close behind him, said:—'Here's a gentleman who must be conducted.'

" 'He shall be conducted,' replied the mistress of the house.

"No sooner had she uttered these words than the peasant opened a door and disappeared, without giving M. Berryer time to thank or remunerate him. The mistress of the house then made the stranger a sign to be seated, and continued, without saying a single syllable, to attend to her household affairs, as if she were alone.

"A silence of three-quarters of an hour succeeded the sole mark of politeness which M. Berryer had received, and was only interrupted by the arrival of the master of the house, who bowed to the stranger without evincing either surprise or curiosity; only he looked towards his wife, and the latter, without stirring from her place, and without interruption to what she was doing, repeated the words previously uttered by the guide—'Here's a gentleman who must be conducted.'

"The master of the house then cast upon his guest one of those rapid, uneasy, and searching glances peculiar to the Vendean peasantry; after which his countenance resumed its habitual expression of kindness and naïveté. Advancing towards M. Berryer with his hat in his hand—

" 'Does monsieur wish to travel in our country?' he asked.

" 'Yes, I wish to go further on.'

" 'Monsieur has papers, no doubt?'

" 'Yes.'

" 'In regular order?'

" 'Perfectly.'

" 'If monsieur would show them to me, I would inform him whether he could with safety travel through our country.'

" 'Here they are.'

"The peasant taking them, glanced his eye over their contents; and the moment he saw the name of Berryer, folded them up and returned them, saying:

" 'Oh! it's all right. Monsieur may go anywhere with these papers.'

" 'And will you undertake to have me conducted?'

" 'Yes, sir.'

" 'I wish it to be as soon as possible.'

" 'I will have the horses saddled immediately.'

"The master of the house then went out, and, returning ten minutes after, said:

" 'The horses are ready.'

" 'And the guide?'



" 'Is waiting, sir.'

"At the door M. Berryer found a lad belonging to the farm already on horseback, holding a second horse by the bridle; and the moment the foot of the Paris advocate was in the stirrup, the new guide, as silent as his predecessor, began to jog on.

"In about two hours, during which M. Berryer did not exchange a single word with his guide, they arrived, about nightfall, at the door of one of those farm-houses honoured by the appellation of chateaux. It was now half-past eight. M. Berryer and his conductor both alighted, and entered the house.

"The latter, addressing a servant, said:

" 'Here's a gentleman who must speak to you master immediately.'

"This latter was already in bed. He had passed the preceding night at a rendezvous, and the whole of the day on horseback. Being therefore too tired to get up, one of his relations came down in his stead.

"The moment M. Berryer stated who he was, and that he wished to see the Duchess of Berri, orders were instantly given to prepare for their departure, the host's relative undertaking to conduct the traveller.

"In ten minutes, both were on horseback. After a quarter of an hour's riding, a loud cry was uttered about a hundred yards before them. M. Berryer started, and inquired what that cry was.

" 'It is our scout,' calmly replied the Vendean chief, 'who, in his way, is asking whether the road is free. Listen, and you will hear the reply.'

"At these words he extended his hand, seized M. Berryer's arm, and thus forced him to pull up. An instant after, a second cry was heard, much further off than the former, of which it seemed an echo, so perfectly similar was the sound.

" 'We may now advance,' resumed the chief, walking his horse forward; 'the road is free.'

" 'Are we then preceded by a scout?' asked M. Berryer.

" 'Yes, we have a man two hundred yards in advance of us, and one two hundred yards in our rear.'

" 'But who replied to the former?'

" 'The peasants whose cottages border upon the road. Take notice when we pass before one of them, and you will see a small wicket opened and a man's head appear through it, remain for an instant motionless, as if it were a statue, and only disappear when we have passed the house. If we were soldiers belonging to some neighbouring cantonment, the man who should see us pass would immediately go out by a back-door; and if there were some meeting in the neighbourhood which we were going to surprise, it would receive notice of our approach a quarter of an hour before our arrival.'

"At this moment the Vendean chief ceased speaking. 'Listen,' said he, stopping his horse.

" 'What is the matter?' inquired M. Berryer; I heard only the cry of our scout.'

" 'Yes, but no cry replies to it; there are soldiers in the neighbourhood.'

"So saying, he set off at a trot, and M. Berryer followed him; almost at the same moment they were overtaken by the man in the rear, who advanced at full speed.

"Here the road branched off in two directions, and they found their scout motionless and undecided between the two paths. His cry had been answered on neither side, and he knew not which to take; for both led to the place whither the travellers were bound.

"The chief and the guide having conversed together an instant in an under-tone, the guide took the dark avenue to the right, and was soon lost in the gloom. Five minutes after, the chief and M. Berryer entered the same road, leaving their fourth companion motionless at the place they quitted, and, in five minutes, he followed them in his turn.

"About three hundred paces from the meeting of the two roads, they found their guide at a dead stand. Having made them a sign to keep silence, he whispered these words, 'A patrole.'

"And in fact they heard immediately afterwards the regular cadence formed by the footsteps of a body of soldiers marching. This happened to be one of my movable columns going the night round.

"The noise soon came nearer, and they perceived the bayonets of the men standing out in relief upon the dark sky. The detachment, however, to avoid the water running in the hollow roads, had taken neither of the two paths which had caused a momentary hesitation in the guide, but had climbed the slope, and were marching on the other side of the hedge, upon the ground commanding the hollow path which formed its boundary. The situation of the travellers was now very critical; for if one of the four horses had neighed, the whole party would have been made prisoners. But, as if the poor beasts had understood the danger of their masters, they remained still and silent, and the soldiers marched on without suspecting near whom they had passed. When the sound of their footsteps had died away, the travellers resumed their journey.

"At half past ten, they turned off from the road, and entered a small wood, where they alighted, and leaving their horses under the charge of the two peasants, M. Berryer and the Vendean chief continued their route on foot.

"They were now not very far distant from the farm-house inhabited by the Duchess of Berri; but, as they wished to enter by a back-door, it was necessary to make a circuit, and cross a marsh, in which they sank up to their knees in mire. At length they perceived a little dark mass, which was the farm-house surrounded by trees. They soon reached the door, and the chief knocked in a particular manner.

"Footsteps were immediately heard inside, and a voice exclaimed, 'Who's there?'

"The chief replied by a known pass-word,\* and the door was opened.

"An old woman performed the duties of porter, but for greater security she was attended by a stout and robust peasant, armed with a long and heavy stick, a weapon of terrific power in such hands.

"'We want to see Monsieur Charles,' said the chief.

"'He is asleep,' the old woman replied; 'but he gave orders to be immediately informed if any one arrived. Come into the kitchen, and I will go and awaken him.'

"'Tell him that it is M. Berryer from Paris.'

"The old woman left them in the kitchen, and they approached the huge fire-place, in which were still some burning embers, the remains of the fire used during the day. One extremity of a board was in the fire-place, whilst at the other there was a slit containing one of those lighted pieces of pine which, in the Vendean cottages, are used as torches in lieu of lamps or candles.

"In about ten minutes she returned, and informed M. Berryer that Monsieur Charles was ready to receive him. He accordingly followed her up a rickety staircase outside the house, which seemed scarcely fastened to the wall. It led to a small room on the first floor, the only one in the house at all fit to be inhabited.

\* From delicacy, perhaps, to the Duke of Orleans, General Dermoncourt has not published this pass-word; but as it may elicit a smile from our fair readers who have seen, in this country, the young and gallant heir to the French throne, we here insert it. The pass-word was *Grand-Poulot*, a nickname given to the Duke of Orleans. It is not translatable. It bears, however, pretty nearly the same meaning as great baby, but is much more bitter; and it conveys, besides, an imputation of chicken-heartedness. Let it be remembered, however, that this nickname, as applied to the Duke of Orleans, could have originated only in the warped imagination of a Carlist.—Tr.

"This was the apartment of the Duchess of Berri, into which the old woman ushered M. Berryer, shut the door and returned to the kitchen.

"All M. Berryer's attention was now directed to the duchess, who was in bed, upon a wooden bedstead clumsily made with a hedging-bill. She had sheets of the finest lawn, and was covered with a Scotch shawl of green and red plaid. She had on her head one of those woollen coifs worn by the women of the country, the pinners of which fall over the shoulders. The walls of the room were bare, the apartment was warmed by an awkward stove of plaster of Paris, and the only furniture, besides the bed, was a table covered with papers, upon which were two brace of pistols, and in a corner, a chair upon which lay the complete dress of a peasant boy, and a black wig.

The efforts of Berryer were, however, unsuccessful, and the revolt, by the orders of her royal highness, broke out on the 4th of June.

We have not space to detail the particulars of the capture of the chateau of La Chaslière, which was effected by Dermoncourt in person, and where the secret papers and correspondence of the Duchess of Berri fell into his hands. We shall, though the event was of less importance, extract the account of the burning and capture of another chateau, La Penissière de la Cour, where the heroic bravery of the Vendéans excited the warmest applause of our author. We may state, that a battle had taken place previously at Vieille-vigne, at which the duchess was herself present, and commanded the troops. She narrowly escaped capture. Our heroine dressed with her own hands the wounds her men had received in the encounter. To return to the attack on La Penissière.

After mentioning the investment of the place, and the abandonment of the external wall by the Chouans, who retreated into the house, and barricadoed the doors, the general proceeds:

"They then stationed their forces in the ground-floor and the first floor, placing on either floor a peasant with his bugle, who did not cease playing during the whole action; and from the windows they opened a fire, which was well sustained and very ably directed. Twice did the soldiers advance within twenty yards of the house, and as often were they repulsed.

"The adjutant-major ordered a third attack, and, whilst preparations were making for it, four men, aided by a mason, advanced towards the chateau, selecting as their point of advance, part of the gable-end, which had no opening into the garden, and the approach to which could not therefore be defended. Having reached the wall in safety, they placed a ladder against it, and, ascending to the roof of the house, made an opening, threw lighted combustibles into the garrets, and then withdrew. In an instant a column of smoke burst from the roof, through which the fire soon made its way.

"The soldiers now uttered loud shouts of triumph, and again marched towards the little citadel, which seemed to have a standard of flame planted upon its summit. The besieged had perceived the fire, but had not time to extinguish it; and, as fire has always a tendency to ascend, they hoped that when the roof was destroyed, it would be naturally extinguished for want of something to feed it. They therefore replied to the shouts of our soldiers with a volley of musketry, as well sustained as the former; and, during the whole time it lasted, the bugles continued playing warlike flourishes.

"At this juncture, the chef-de-bataillon Georges arrived with a few more men. He immediately ordered the charge to be beat, and the men, in emulation of each other, rushed towards the chateau.



"This time they reached the doors of the building, and the sappers and miners prepared to break them open. The officers commanding the Chouans directed those stationed on the ground-floor to ascend to the story above it. This order was immediately obeyed; and, whilst the sappers were breaking open the doors, half of the besieged continued to fire at their assailants, whilst the other half occupied themselves in taking up the paving-tiles and making holes through the floor, so that the moment the soldiers entered, they were received with a volley muzzle-to, fired through the intervals between the beams and rafters.

"The assailants were forced to retreat, and the Chouans hailed this event with their screeching bugles and loud cries of "Long live Henry V!"

"The chef-de-bataillon now directed that the ground-floor should be set on fire in the same manner as the garrets had been. Accordingly, the men advanced with lighted torches and dry wood, all of which they threw into the house through the windows, and in ten minutes the Chouans had fire at their feet as well as over their heads. It seemed therefore impossible for them to escape death; and the firing which they kept up, and which had not intermitted for a single moment, appeared to be the last act of vengeance of resolute men driven to desperation.

"And in truth their situation was dreadful. The fire soon reached the beams, and the rooms were filled with smoke, which escaped through the windows. The garrison had therefore nothing left but the choice of three modes of quitting life; to be burned to death, suffocated by smoke, or massacred by our soldiers.

"The commanders of the rebels adopted a desperate course; they resolved to make a sortie. But, to give it the least chance of success, it was necessary that it should be protected by a fire of musketry which would occupy the attention of our soldiers; they therefore asked who among them would volunteer to sacrifice themselves for the safety of their comrades. Eight offered their services.

"The little band was therefore divided into two platoons. Thirty-five men and a bugle-player were to make an attempt to reach the other extremity of the park, enclosed only with a hedge; and the eight others, with the remaining bugle-player, were to protect the attempt. The two brothers embraced each other, for they were to separate; one commanded the garrison that remained, the other led the sortie.

"In consequence of these arrangements, and whilst those who remained continued, by running from window to window, to keep up a tolerable brisk fire, the others made a hole in the wall opposite to the side attacked; and on a passage sufficiently large being opened, they came forth in good order, the bugle at their head, marching in double-quick time towards the extremity of the park where the hedge was.

"Their retreat brought upon them a discharge of musketry which killed two. A third, being mortally wounded, expired near the hedge. The bugle-player at the head of the little band received three balls in his body, and still continued to play. It is a pity that I dare not publish the names of such men.

"Meanwhile, the situation of the eight men who remained in the house had become more and more dangerous. The burning rafters cracked and seemed no longer able to bear the weight of the besieged, who therefore retired into a species of recess formed by the wall, and resolved to defend themselves there to the last extremity; and they had scarcely reached it when the floor fell in with a dreadful crash. The soldiers uttered shouts of joy at this event; for the musketry ceased to annoy them at the same instant, and they thought the garrison had been crushed in the ruins. This error saved the lives of the eight heroic Vendéans.

"When the Chouans, from their recess, perceived that the besiegers were

convinced that they had fallen into the immense furnace which blazed fearfully below them, they remained silent and motionless. Our soldiers, on the other hand, with a horror quite natural in such a case, speedily quitted a burning building whose flames devoured at the same time both friends and enemies, whether alive or dead. Meanwhile, night soon came, and amid its darkness the eight men supposed to have been either crushed to death or burned alive, glided like wandering spectres along the heated walls, and reached in safety the hedge through which their companions had escaped; so that there remained nothing upon the field of battle except the red and smoking house, and around it a few corpses rendered visible by the last flashes of the expiring flame."

All pretence of success in the contest was now abandoned. The inconveniences to which the duchess was subjected, hunted as she was by the troops of the government, to-day her harness captured, and to-morrow her very wardrobe, so that she was reduced to the clothes upon her back, became intolerable. A bold plan was formed, which our author admits was, under the circumstances, the very best possible. She was to find her way privately into Nantes, and the troops being withdrawn in search of her, the Chouans were to enter on a market-day, disguised as peasants, and by a coup-de-main, get possession of the castle. Nantes was then to be declared the provisional capital of the kingdom, the deposition of Louis Philippe was to be proclaimed, and the duchess named regent of France. Her journey to Nantes and entry into that city are well described. She was accompanied by Mademoiselle Kersabiec and M. Ménars—all three in peasant's clothing.

"They had five leagues to journey on foot.

"After travelling half an hour in this trim, the thick, nailed shoes, and worsted stockings, to which the duchess was not accustomed, hurt her feet. Still she attempted to walk; but, judging that if she continued to wear these shoes and stockings, she should soon be unable to proceed, she seated herself upon the bank of a ditch, took them off, thrust them into her large pockets, and continued her journey barefoot.

"A moment after, having remarked the peasant-girls who passed her on the road, she perceived that the fineness of her skin, and the aristocratic whiteness of her ancles, were likely to betray her; she therefore went to the road-side, took some dark-coloured earth, and after rubbing her ancles with it, resumed her walk. She had still four leagues to travel before she reached the place of her destination.

"Meanwhile, the distance became progressively shorter, and, in proportion as they got nearer to Nantes, their fears subsided. The duchess had become accustomed to her attire, and the country-people on the road did not seem to perceive that the little peasant-woman who tripped lightly by them, was any other than her dress indicated. It was already a great point gained to deceive the instinct of penetration peculiar to the inhabitants of this country, and who are rivalled, if not surpassed in this quality, only by soldiers inured to warfare.

"At length, Nantes appeared in sight, and the duchess put on her shoes and stockings to enter the town. On reaching the Pont Pyrmile, she found herself in the midst of a detachment commanded by an officer formerly in the royal guard, and whom she recognized as having often seen on duty at her palace.

"Opposite to the Bouffai, somebody tapped the duchess on the shoulder; she started and turned round. The person guilty of this familiarity was an old apple-woman, who had placed her basket of fruit on the ground and was unable of herself to replace it upon her head.

" 'My good girls,' she said, addressing the duchess and Mademoiselle de Kersabiec, 'help me, pray, to take up my basket, and I will give each of you an apple.'

"The Duchess of Berri immediately seized a handle of the basket, made a sign to her companion to take the other, and the load was quickly placed in equilibrium upon the head of the old woman, who was going away without giving the promised reward, when the duchess seized her by the arm, and said: 'Stop, mother, where's my apple?'

"The old woman having given it to her, she was eating it with an appetite sharpened by a walk of five leagues, when, raising her eyes, they fell upon a placard headed by these three words in very large letters:

#### STATE OF SIEGE.

"This was the ministerial decree which outlawed four departments of La Vendée, and set a price upon the duchess's head. She approached the placard and calmly read it through, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Mademoiselle de Kersabiec, who pressed her to hasten to the house where she was expected. But the duchess replied that the placard concerned herself too nearly for her not to make herself acquainted with its contents. The alarm of her two companions, whilst she was reading it, may easily be imagined.

"At length she resumed her walk, and in a few minutes reached the house at which she was expected. There she took off her clothes covered with dirt, which are now preserved as relics. She soon afterwards proceeded to the residence of Mesdemoiselles Deguigny, Rue Haute-du-Chateau, No. 3, where an apartment was prepared for her, and within this apartment a place of concealment. The apartment was nothing but a mansarde on the third floor, consisting of two small rooms; and the place of concealment was a recess within an angle closed by the chimney of the innermost room. An iron plate formed the entrance to the hiding-place, and was opened by a spring."

In an inactive state, the necessary result of her close confinement, the duchess passed five months at Nantes; the commissary of the government being every where abroad, to effect her apprehension. It is known that this was finally brought about by the treachery of a certain Hyacinth, Simon Deutz, who was confidentially employed by the duchess in her negotiations, and had procured a knowledge of the place of her retreat. While in Paris, engaged in conjunction with an agent of Don Miguel, in negotiating a loan, he was recognized by the police, as in the employ of the duchess, and was finally bribed to betray her. He proceeded to Nantes, where he knew she resided, though he was ignorant of the house in which she was concealed. This was the mansion of the Demoiselles Deguigny. He succeeded in making her acquainted with his arrival, and was admitted to an audience in the evening, but found himself unable to identify the house in the day time. He therefore solicited and procured a second audience, and on his way to the house was followed at a distance by some skilful police-agents. The narrative states:

"The same day, at about two o'clock, this wretch had passed before the house in which he had first seen her, and was again to see her that afternoon,



the better, no doubt, to reconnoitre the premises. No sooner, therefore, had he entered the house a second time, than he made such observations as led him to suppose that the duchess resided there.

"On reaching her apartment, he found her pale and agitated. She rose, walked straight to him, crumpling a letter in her hand, and fixing her eyes upon him as if she would scrutinize his innermost thoughts.

"'Sir,' she said, 'do you know what they write me from Paris? they inform me that I am betrayed;—is it by you?'

"Deutz remained silent at this unexpected appeal; he had not a word at command wherewith to defend himself.

"'You see, sir,' continued the duchess, showing him the despatch, 'that I am to be arrested to-morrow. Do you know any thing about it?'

"Deutz, having recovered himself, assumed a certain degree of assurance. He attributed to wounded feelings the confusion he had betrayed on her accusing him, protested that he was innocent and faithful, and appealed for a proof of his incorruptibility to the economy with which he had executed every mission she had entrusted him with. The duchess acknowledged the truth of his appeal, and immediately said that she believed him incapable of such baseness. This audience lasted about an hour.

"As Deutz withdrew, he passed near the door of the dining-room, which was ajar. Casting a rapid glance into the room, he perceived a table set out for seven persons; and as he knew that the Demoiselles Deguigny lived alone, he had no doubt that the duchess was about to sit down to dinner. On that day she had invited Madame de Charrette and Mademoiselle Kersabiec to dine with her.

"Deutz immediately went to M. Maurice Duval, gave an account of what he had seen, and advised him to make haste, so as to arrive before the dinner was over; for he was not yet quite satisfied that the duchess resided in that house."

Effective measures were taken, the spot being now discovered, to invest it regularly with the troops, and accordingly General Dermoncourt, accompanied by certain officers of the government, who had been detailed for the purpose, proceeded to enter the house. We shall be copious in our extracts from this concluding part of the drama; it is full of interest, and narrated by the general in his best manner.

"Darkness had now begun to spread her mantle over the city, and the night was beautiful. The Duchess of Berri, from the windows of her apartment, saw the moon rise above the horizon upon a calm, dark blue sky. The massive towers of the old castle, silent and motionless, displayed their forms like a brown shadow upon the heavens. There are moments when Nature seems to us so mild, and so friendly, that, amid the calmness she displays, we cannot suspect that danger is lurking nigh. The fears excited in the Duchess of Berri by the letter she had received from Paris were wholly dissipated at this beautiful sight, when, on a sudden, M. Guibourg, who had approached the window, saw the glitter of bayonets, and a column of troops in full march towards the house. It was the one commanded by Colonel Simon Lorrière. He immediately started back, and exclaimed,

"'Hide yourself, madam! for God's sake, hide yourself!'

"On reaching the mansarde, the recess was immediately opened, and a dispute arose as to who should enter it first. This was really not a vain quarrel of etiquette and precedence: the passage into the place of concealment was by no means easy, and the soldiers might reach the mansarde before the last of the party could have time to enter it. The opening would then be closed,

and this person, whoever it might be, taken prisoner. Moreover, the recess was so small, that two men would have found great difficulty in entering it after the females of the party had preceded them. The Duchess of Berri, however, put an end to the discussion by *commanding* that all should enter according to their stature, the tallest first. Thus M. de Ménars was to take the lead, and M. Guibourg follow. But the latter gentleman reversed the order by entering first. The duchess and Mademoiselle Stylite Kersabiec still remained, and the latter at first refused to pass in before the royal fugitive. But the duchess with a smile said to her:

“In good strategy, Stylite, when a general effects a retreat, he always goes last.”

“Mademoiselle Stylite, therefore, went into the recess, the duchess followed her, and was in the act of closing the aperture when the soldiers opened the door of the room.

“The troops had entered the ground-floor, preceded by M. Joly, the commissary of police from Paris, and likewise by the commissary of police of Nantes. Both these functionaries had pistols in their hands; and the weapon of one of them went off, from his inexperience in the use of it, wounding him in the hand. The soldiers soon spread through the house. It was my duty to invest it, and I had done so; it was the duty of the police-people to search it, and I allowed them to act without any interference on my part.

“M. Joly perfectly recognized the interior of the building, from the description given him by Deutz. He found the dinner-table for seven persons still laid, for it had not yet been used; whilst the two Demoiselles Deguigny and Madame de Charrette seemed the only occupants of the house. He began by securing the persons of these ladies; then proceeding up the staircase like one to whom the locality was well known, he went straight to the door of the mansarde, and, having recognized it, he said in a tone sufficiently loud for the duchess to hear it from her recess:

“Here is the hall of audience.”

“There was now no further doubt in the mind of the Duchess of Berri that Deutz was the author of the treachery announced to her that day from Paris. An open letter\* lay upon the table; M. Joly took it up. It was the one which the duchess had that morning received from Paris, and which Deutz had seen her crumple in her hand. This removed every doubt of the Duchess of Berri being in the house, and the sole object was now to discover the place of her concealment.

\* “The following is a note by General Dermonecourt :

“The Duchess of Berri had agents at Paris among the individuals whom King Louis Philippe considers the most devoted to him; and these persons gave her information of every thing that passed in the offices of the ministers, and at the Tuilleries. It would, indeed, astonish the public, were I to name the party from whom she received the information alluded to; but my doing so would be a denunciation.”

“The general, who is the most amiable of men, can with difficulty make up his mind to give pain even to unworthy individuals. Being acquainted with every circumstance connected with the present work, I feel no hesitation in satisfying the curiosity of the English reader by filling up the hiatus left by the general. The writer of the letter informing the Duchess of Berri that she was betrayed, and would be arrested if she did not immediately leave Nantes, was M. D'Argout, then minister of commerce, who had long made a practice of giving her secret information, and acquainting her with all the secrets of the cabinet of Louis Philippe.

“In the correspondence seized by General Dermonecourt, there were letters implicating several members of the French cabinet, more especially Marshal Soult, the war minister,—a brave and skilful soldier under Napoleon, a fawning hypocrite under the restoration, and, it seems, a base and perjured traitor under Louis Philippe. Of course these letters, after their seizure, were forwarded to the *proper authority*, which happened to be precisely one of the parties implicated.

“Among the letters written to the Duchess of Berri, was one from Marshal Soult, stating that he would be ‘entirely hers’ (*tout a elle*) on condition that she would re-

Diligent search was made in every part of the house. Every hole and corner was ransacked without success. The population of the city was condensed in the streets and squares; and though a grave and solemn curiosity was evinced, no sign of Carlism manifested itself. The ladies of the mansion preserved the most composed and cool demeanour; and neither they nor the domestics, by their conduct, excited the least suspicion that they were acquainted with the fact of the duchess being in the house. Our author proceeds:

"After a useless search, which lasted the greater part of the night, the police officers began to despair of success. They imagined that the duchess had escaped; and this idea was confirmed by their finding no traces of her in any of the neighbouring houses. The prefect, therefore, made the signal of retreat, taking the precaution, however, to leave a sufficient number of men to occupy every room in the suspected house. He also directed the commissaries of police to remain there, and they accordingly took possession of the ground-floor. The circumvallation by the troops was likewise continued, and the national guard came and relieved some of the latter, who went to their quarters to get a little rest. From the manner in which the sentries were distributed throughout the house, it happened that two gendarmes were stationed in the very room containing the secret recess.

"The poor prisoners were therefore obliged to remain very still, though their situation must have been dreadfully painful, in a small closet, only three feet and a half long, and eighteen inches wide at one extremity, but diminishing gradually to eight or ten inches at the other. The men, in particular, must have suffered great inconvenience, because in the recess, which became narrower as it increased in height, they had scarcely room to stand upright, even by placing their heads between the rafters. Moreover, the night was damp, and the cold humid air, penetrating through the slates of the roof, fell upon the party, and chilled them almost to death. But no one ventured to complain, as the duchess did not.

"The cold was so piercing, that the gendarmes stationed in the room could bear it no longer. One of them, therefore, went down stairs, returned with some dried turf, and in ten minutes a beautiful fire was burning in the chimney, behind which the duchess and her friends were concealed.

"This fire, which was lighted for the benefit of only two individuals, gave out its warmth to six; and, frozen as the prisoners then were, they considered this change of temperature a great blessing. But the good that this fire did them at first was soon converted into a most painful sensation. The chimney-plate and the wall being acted upon by the fire, threw out, in a short time, a frightful degree of heat, which continued gradually to increase. The wall at length became so hot, that neither of them could bear to touch it, and the cast iron plate was nearly red-hot. Almost at the same time, and although the dawn had not yet appeared, the labours of the persons in search of the duchess recommenced. Iron bars and beams were struck with redoubled force against the wall of the recess, and shook it fearfully. It seemed to the prisoners as if the workmen were pulling down the house and those adjoining. The duchess therefore expected, even if she escaped from the flames, to be crushed to death by the falling ruins. Nevertheless, during these trying moments,

establish, in his favour, the office of constable of France. Her reply was very characteristic; it was as follows:

"Monsieur le Marechal,

"The sword of constable of France is to be won only in the field of battle; I await your presence there."

"The reader may depend upon the accuracy of these details.—Tn.



neither her courage nor her gaiety forsook her; and several times, as she afterwards informed me, she could not help laughing at the conversation and guard-house wit of the two gendarmes on duty in the room. But their talk being at length all spent, one of them went to sleep, and slept soundly too, notwithstanding the horrible din close to his ears, proceeding from the neighbouring houses; for all the efforts of the searchers were now for the twentieth time concentrated round the recess. His companion, being sufficiently warm, had ceased to keep up the fire; the plate and the wall therefore gradually cooled. Meantime M. de Ménars had succeeded in pushing aside some of the slates, so as to make two or three little openings, through which the fresh air from without renewed that in the recess. Now, all the fears of the little party turned towards the workmen, who were sounding with heavy blows the very wall that protected them, and the plate of a chimney close to them, but belonging to another house. Each blow detached the plaster, which fell upon them in powder. The prisoners could perceive through the cracks which this violence was every moment making in the wall, almost all the persons in search of them. They at length gave themselves up for lost, when, to their great relief, the workmen suddenly abandoned that part of the house which, from an instinct I cannot explain, they had so minutely explored. The poor fugitives now drew their breath freely, and the duchess thought herself safe; but this hope did not last long.

The gendarme who had kept watch, anxious to take advantage of the silence which had succeeded the noise made by the workmen, under whose efforts the whole house had tottered, now awoke his companion in order to have a nap in his turn. The other had become chilled during his sleep, and felt almost frozen when he awoke. No sooner were his eyes open than he thought of warming himself. He therefore relit the fire, and as the turf did not burn fast enough, he threw into it a great number of bundles of the *Quotidienne*, which happened to be in the room. They soon caught, and the fire again blazed up in the chimney.

"The paper produced a denser smoke and a greater heat than the fuel which had been used the first time. The prisoners were now in imminent danger of suffocation. The smoke passed through the cracks made by the hammering of the workmen against the wall, and the plate, which was not yet cold, soon became heated to a terrific degree. The air of the recess became every instant less fit for respiration: the persons it contained were obliged to place their mouths against the slates in order to exchange their burning breath for fresh air. The duchess was the greatest sufferer, for, having entered the last, she was close to the plate. Each of her companions offered several times to change places with her, but she always refused.

"At length, to the danger of being suffocated was soon added another: that of being burned alive. The plate had become red-hot, and the lower part of the clothes of the four prisoners seemed likely to catch fire. The dress of the duchess had already caught twice, and she had extinguished it with her naked hands, at the expense of two burns, of which she long after bore the marks. Each moment rarified the air in the recess still more, whilst the external air did not enter in sufficient quantity to enable the poor sufferers to breathe freely. Their lungs became dreadfully oppressed; and to remain ten minutes longer in such a furnace would be to endanger the life of her royal highness. Each of her companions entreated her to go out; but she positively refused. Big tears of rage rolled from her eyes, and the burning air immediately dried them upon her cheeks. Her dress again caught fire, and again she extinguished it: but the movement she made in doing so, pushed back the spring which closed the door of the recess, and the plate of the chimney opened a little. Mademoiselle de Kersabiec immediately put forward her hand to close it, and burned herself dreadfully.

"The motion of the plate having made the turf placed against it roll back,

this excited the attention of the gendarme, who was trying to kill the time by reading some numbers of the *Quotidienne*, and who thought he had built his pyrotechnic edifice with greater solidity than it seemed to possess. The noise made by Mademoiselle de Kersabiec inspired him with a curious idea: fancying that there were rats in the wall of the chimney, and that the heat would force them to come out, he awoke his companion, and they placed themselves, sword in hand, one on each side of the chimney, ready to cut in twain the first rat that should appear.

"They were in this ridiculous attitude, when the duchess, who must have possessed an extraordinary degree of courage to have supported so long as she had done the agony she endured, declared she could hold out no longer. At the same instant M. de Ménars, who had long before pressed her to give herself up, kicked open the plate. The gendarmes started back in astonishment, calling out,

"'Who's there?'

"'I,' replied the duchess. 'I am the Duchess of Berri; do not hurt me.'

"The gendarmes immediately rushed to the fire-place, and kicked the blazing fuel out of the chimney. The duchess came forth the first, and as she passed was obliged to place her hands and feet upon the burning hearth; her companions followed. It was now half-past nine o'clock in the morning, and the party had been shut up in this recess for sixteen hours, without food.

"The first words of the duchess were to ask for me. One of the gendarmes came to fetch me from the ground-floor, which I had chosen not to quit. Meanwhile, she delivered in charge to the other, a bag which incommoded her, containing thirteen thousand francs in money, part of it in Spanish coin.

"I immediately went up-stairs to the princess. My duty, as well as a sense of propriety, urged me to do so. Before I reached the garret, she had quitted the room in which the recess was, and I found her in the outer one in which she had seen Deutz, and which M. Joly had called the hall of audience. She advanced towards me with such precipitation, that she almost fell into my arms.

"'General,' she said, 'I deliver myself up to you, and I trust myself to your integrity.'

"'Madame,' I replied, 'your highness is under the safeguard of French honour.'

"I led her to a chair. Her face was pale, her head bare, her hair standing up over her forehead like that of a man. She wore a plain merino dress of a brown colour, burnt in several places at the bottom, and on her feet she had small list slippers. As she sat down, she said, strongly pressing my arm, and in a short and strongly accentuated tone of voice: 'General, I have nothing to reproach myself with; I have performed the duty of a mother in trying to recover my son's inheritance.'

"The moment she was seated she looked round for the other prisoners, and, perceiving them all with the exception of M. Guibourg, requested that gentleman might be sent for. She then leaned towards me.

"'General,' said she, 'I wish not to be separated from my companions in misfortune.'

"In the name of Count d'Erlon, who I was sure would do honour to my word, I promised they should remain with her.

"The duchess appeared very thirsty, and, though pale, seemed animated like a person in a fever. I had a glass of water brought to her; she dipped her fingers into it, and its coolness seemed to refresh her a little. I then proposed that she should drink one, to which she acceded; but as the house had been turned topsy-turvy, it was no easy matter to get a second glass of water. At length one was brought, and she would have been obliged to drink it without sugar had I not thought of M. de Ménars, who was standing

in a corner of the room. It struck me that he was the kind of man likely to have sugar about him. I therefore asked him for some, as a thing I was sure he could give me; and in fact he took two lumps from his pocket. The duchess dissolved them in the water, by stirring them with a paper-cutter. As for a spoon, it was useless to think of such a thing; had the house been rummaged from top to bottom, not one would have been found. As soon as the princess had drunk, she made me sit on a chair near her, for until then I had remained standing."

The general immediately sent to inform his superior, Count D'Erlon, and also M. Maurice Duval, the obnoxious prefect of Nantes, of what had occurred. M. Duval arrived first.

"He entered the room in which we were sitting, with his hat upon his head, as if there was not a female prisoner there, who, from her rank and misfortunes, was deserving of greater deference and respect than she had ever enjoyed even during her prosperity. He approached the duchess, cavalierly placed his hand to his hat, scarcely raising it from his head, and exclaimed, 'Ah! yes, it is she!' He then went out to give his orders.

"'Who is that man?' inquired the princess.

"This question was certainly not out of place, because the prefect had appeared before her without wearing any of the badges which indicated his high office.

"'Does madame not guess?' I said.

"She looked at me with a smile.

"'It can be nothing but a prefect,' she replied; and she could not have guessed nearer the mark had she even seen M. Duval's commission.

"'Did that man serve under the Restoration?' she asked.

"'No, madam.'

"'I am very glad of it, for the Restoration's sake.'"

It was judged proper that the duchess should be safely lodged in the castle, and measures were accordingly taken for her removal. She took General Dermoncourt's arm, and followed the rest of the company:

"When we got into the street, the prefect requested the colonel of the national guard to take the other arm of the duchess, who conformed to this arrangement with a tolerably good grace. The troops formed a double line from the house of the Demoiselles Deguigny to the castle, leaving a space between their ranks, through which we walked. Behind the soldiers, the inhabitants were pressing forward, getting upon each other's shoulders, and using the most strenuous exertions to obtain a sight of the captives. They formed a line, so far as the ground would allow, ten times thicker than that of the soldiers. Among these men who looked at us, were to be seen eyes flashing fire, and many other symptoms of bitter hatred. Low murmurs, but of deadly import, greeted us on our passage, and some shouts began to vibrate through the air. I stopped and looked round on both sides alternately; and I commanded by expressive signs the respect due to a woman, more especially when that woman was a prisoner.

"Fortunately, the distance to the castle was very short, being not more than sixty yards."

General Dermoncourt never saw her after the following day: he was despatched on business in the course of the same night in which the duchess, with her attendants, was removed from the city of Nantes.



The impression she produced upon the old general, he candidly confesses to have been extremely favourable. His book ends with her departure from Nantes.

We are much mistaken, if we have heard the last of the Duchess of Berri. One of her talents and restless disposition, can scarcely live in obscurity. The 'fiery soul' which has fallen to the lot of Marie Caroline, will constantly urge her to deeds of daring, and be quenched only by the great extinguisher—death. In the present prospect, too, of the political horizon, she may not unwisely anticipate a wide field for enterprise and exertion, should not 'her pigmy body' be prematurely 'fretted to decay.' The Duchess of Berri may yet live to see her youthful son seated on the throne of France. We have never considered the position of Louis Philippe and his family as impregnable. In this age of revolutions, there is nothing strange in the supposition that the young duke of Bordeaux may yet wear a crown—but this can never be effected by foreign armies. The French would rise *en masse* against such an attempt; and they are too great a nation to be trampled upon, even by united Europe.

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ART. VIII.—*Mémoires de Mademoiselle Avrillon, Première Femme de Chambre de l'Impératrice, sur la Vie Privée de Josephine, sa Famille et sa Cour.* Paris, 1833.

*Memoirs of Mademoiselle Avrillon, First Chambermaid to the Empress, relative to the Private Life of Josephine, and of her Family and Court.* Paris, 1833. Two volumes, 8vo.

WHAT a mountain the future historian of the epoch of Napoleon will be obliged to clamber up, to obtain a full view of the field in which he desires to labour, if he be so scrupulous as to deem it incumbent upon him, for the purpose of appreciating it rightly, to acquire an acquaintance with all or the greater part of what has been issued from the press in relation to the matter! The pile already is almost as "high as the huge Olympus," and bids fair soon to rival "Pelion upon Ossa." Surely there is one class of persons, at least, who should be actuated by feelings of gratitude to hold the memory of the late emperor in something like affection—we mean the class of booksellers and publishers—for what subject has ever proved to them a mine of so rich and prolific a vein, as the one furnished by the career of that extraordinary personage? Scarcely a month, we were about to say, has been suffered to elapse since the termination of his bewildering course, without the appearance of some voluminous publication, having him, directly or indirectly, for its object, and scarcely one, perhaps,

of these works, has failed to produce an abundant pecuniary compensation. Every thing respecting him is swallowed by the world with as much avidity as the unlucky companions of Ulysses were devoured by the *monstrum horrendum*; and though we may think it necessary to cry out now 'eheu! enough!' whenever another dish of the same article falls in our way, we always contrive, eventually, to get through with it, however unskilful the manner in which it is prepared. 'Increase of appetite,' seems really in this case, to 'grow by what it feeds on,' and with very little power or care of discrimination. When the good and the genuine are consumed, we are by no means loth to accommodate ourselves with the spurious and the bad; like the manager of the provincial theatre, who, when the white paper was exhausted during the representation of a snow-storm, ordered the director of the clouds to snow *blue*. The quantity of trash in current circulation upon this subject, is quite as great as what is of real value; so strong is the hold it possesses upon the fancy, so potent the influence it exercises over every mind. It is indeed 'a tale which holdeth children from their play, and old men from the chimney-corner,' and every one who 'cometh unto you with it,' is as sure to be listened to, however disqualified for its recital, as would be Scheherezade herself.

We rejoice that it is not a storyteller of that description whom it is our duty at present to notice. The right of Mademoiselle Avrillon to open her lips is incontrovertible. Her position during the period of Napoleon's sway, afforded her ample opportunity of gathering the materials which she has just presented to the public; and these are of a nature that will abundantly remunerate the trouble of inspection. They possess more importance, in reference to the *domestic* character of Napoleon, than any with which we are acquainted—much more than the lucubrations of Monsieur Constant, whose object it seems to have been to belie the assertion that 'no one can be a great man to his *valet-de-chambre*,' though his success has not been altogether commensurate with his good will. Moreover, he could not have possessed opportunities of beholding the emperor morally *en dishabille*, like those enjoyed by the favourite and confidential attendant of the empress. It was she alone who could be aware, to their full extent, of those peculiarities, littlenesses and defects, which, wherever they exist, are sure to be disclosed in the *ménage*, witnessing, as she did, his conduct in those household details best fitted to elicit character, and receiving constantly from his wife the revelation of her domestic feelings. She certainly has rendered it pretty evident that it is no easy matter for one to be a hero to the *femme-de-chambre*, at least, of his helpmate. With regard to Josephine, however, Mademoiselle is quite as enthusiastic as it might be supposed she

would be, from her intimation that the main purpose of the work was to 'raise *her* monument to the memory of her beloved benefactress.' This she has done with becoming zeal, though perhaps with no very exemplary discretion; we doubt much whether our readers will close the volumes with the idea of their heroine which she labours to convey. The brilliant colouring of the portrait is not sustained by that of the ground on which it is painted; the incidents which she relates and the statements which she makes, being not always in harmony with the emblazonment into which she is seduced by her devotion. But we have no inclination to quarrel with her for the exhibition of her gratitude towards one who possessed every claim upon it; at the same time we must confess that she has worked no change in the opinion we had previously entertained of her mistress,—that she was a woman of great kindness of disposition, but deficient in strength of character and intellect.

In a literary point of view, the volumes before us do not of course warrant the loftiest pretensions. They are written as it might be imagined a lively, intelligent French woman in her situation, of no superior ability or education, would write,—with ease, vivacity, point, a good deal of trifling *bavardage*, a due recollection of herself, no invincible repugnance to an occasional dish of scandal pretty highly seasoned, and a frequent hyberpole of expression in perfect agreement with the phrase exemplifying the national propensity for verbal exaggeration, 'c'est sublime, magnifique, ce qu'on appelle en Anglais, *pretty good*.' One great merit her work certainly possesses; it occupies but two volumes—an almost unheard-of brevity in French memoirs, which usually bear a strong affinity in length to the sesquipedalian words which poor Petit-Jean in the 'Plaideurs' complains of being made to utter: 'de grand mots,'

de mots longs d'une toise,  
Qui tiendroient d'ici jusqu'à Pontoise.

In the outset, Mademoiselle Avrillon furnishes some information about herself, from which we learn that "before living in a palace, she was born in a palace," a circumstance which she deems a singular *bizarrierie* of fate; that this was the Palais-Bourbon, the residence of the Prince of Condé, in whose family her father occupied a place; that she was the thirteenth of fifteen children; that the first years of her existence glided away in uninterrupted happiness, owing to the excellent treatment extended by the prince to his entire household; that when a child, she was rescued from drowning by the devotion of her mother, who plunged into the water after her, and dragged her out when on the point of suffocation; that she preserves an indelible remembrance of the felicity she enjoyed in the Condé family, about whom she com-



municates various interesting details; that the idea of seeking the situation of *femme-de-chambre* to Josephine was put into her head by hearing a report that she was soliciting it, which arose from the circumstance of her intimacy with one of her cousins, who was *chef de la bouche* in the establishment of the first consul; that the first application was made by M. Frere, the first *valet-de-chambre* of Madame Bonaparte, at the instance of her cousin, and that she did not succeed in her object until after numerous tribulations. These she narrates with all the minuteness which their importance in her eyes renders excusable; but they are not, we apprehend, quite so fraught with interest as other portions of her text, to which we prefer according our space.

Her entrance into the consular family, which occurred in 1804, was as the attendant of Mademoiselle de Tascher, a cousin of Josephine, who had recently arrived from Martinique. The lady was about thirteen years old, very large for her age, "with a beautiful person, which had all the *molle souplesse* that causes the natural indolence of the creoles, a physiognomy breathing sweetness and goodness, white and well-formed hands, small (fins) feet, and *jolies jambes*, (we must not translate that of course,) but she wanted manner, and no idea of coquetry seemed to have let her into the secret of her external advantages." She was passionately fond of the theatre, went to it every night, and when the performances at one house terminated at an early hour, she would repair to another, where they were protracted longer. Our author remained about her person until the discovery of a flirtation between her and General Rapp—who asked her hand in marriage of Bonaparte, but without success,—to which she was accused of being privy, on the insinuations of the first *femme-de-chambre*, who was her bitter foe. She was displaced in consequence, but her innocence having been proved, Josephine attached her to her own person, "to the great confusion of the wicked woman who had planned the intrigues" against her. "As to the rest," she remarks, "every one took a *figure de circonstance*; for there is not less diplomacy in the internal service of a palace, not less intrigue, not less hypocrisy and low jealousy, than in the saloon of honour; the vices are the same; and the lying exteriors conceal no less perfidy." With regard to Mademoiselle Tascher, she was subsequently forced, in 1808, by Bonaparte, to marry Prince d'Aremberg, the son of the then sovereign of Belgium, and at the wedding-ball "the emperor danced with the bride," says our author, "and not with the empress, as M. Constant erroneously states in his memoirs." It was an unhappy match, the lady having an unconquerable aversion for her husband, to whose magnificent palace in Brussels she would never consent to go, in spite of the orders and even menaces of him who did not often express a wish in vain.

After the restoration, she obtained a divorce, and espoused the Count de Guित्रy, whom she had known in the imperial court, where he had been the equerry of the empress.

From the period of the appointment of Mademoiselle Avrillon to the personal service of Josephine, she was her constant attendant, until the hour of her death; treated always by her with the greatest kindness, and admitted into her most familiar confidence. She accompanied her in all her journeys, of which she has provided a sufficient record; but it is not our intention to follow her regularly through her two volumes, our readers being too familiar with the epoch to render consecutiveness at all requisite. We shall make our extracts much more in reference to subject than time.

Of the persons appertaining to the household of the empress, which was formed after the return of the illustrious couple from their trip to Aix la Chapelle, our author mentions three or four. The maid of honour, Madame de la Rochefoucauld, is represented as a very amiable and intelligent lady, but small and deformed, a misfortune which had been an obstacle to her appointment, though not so serious a one as her want of fortune, the emperor being always desirous "that the persons attached to the service of honour should possess a considerable personal revenue, in addition to their salaries." The celebrated Madame de Lavalette was named '*dame d'atours*;' "she was a beautiful woman, of a very mild character, virtuous by instinct, and without effort, of irreproachable conduct, and an excellent mother." She was never, however, obliged to discharge the functions of her situation, "the empress having always continued to attend herself to all the details of her toilette, in which perhaps no lady of the empire would have been able to take her place, no one having more taste than her majesty." M. Deschamps, a man of talent, and the author of several successful dramatic works, received the place of secretary of the empress, his functions consisting in writing under her dictation, or in conformity with her orders, either to the ministers, or men in elevated positions, to recommend to them persons whom she protected.

"At the same time the emperor directed that the empress should have near her four *demoiselles d'annonce*. Mademoiselle Marcherie was made one of these; two were married; the fourth was a daughter of an usher of the cabinet of the emperor. She was quite pretty, and attracted for some time the notice of the sovereign. But it was not all to appoint these *demoiselles d'annonce*; the appointments made, it behoved to find duties for them, and this was the most difficult part of the matter. The following, however, was the method employed to invest them with an appearance of usefulness. It was decided that they should remain in the apartment contiguous to the bed-chamber of the empress, two serving for a week alternately. They announced the persons who desired to speak with the empress, when she was private. When the emperor came, it was the *demoiselles d'annonce* who opened the

door for him. When the prefect of the palace came to announce to her majesty that the dinner was ready, he was obliged to address himself to these ladies, who opened the door and announced 'The prefect of the palace.' The latter then said 'Your majesty is served.' If it happened, which was very rarely the case, that the toilette of the empress was not finished, the prefect was requested to wait. The same course was pursued with regard to the acting chamberlain. Dinner announced, the ladies were free until nine o'clock the next morning. As to the rest, the institution of these places originated in a trait of the emperor's character, whom nothing displeased more than encountering the faces of men when he went familiarly to the apartment of his wife. The functions of the demoiselles d'annonce caused them to be pleasantly styled by Madame de La Rochefoucauld, *female ushers*."

The coronation, according to our author, operated greater changes in the interior of the palace than were caused even by the foundation of the empire. She witnessed the ceremony from the box of the empress, on whose countenance she says there was a radiant expression of joy, content, happiness, such as she never beheld in any other face. "The crown placed upon her forehead by the hands of her august husband had fixed her destiny, and seemed to dissipate forever the rumours of divorce, by which she had been so often harassed, even by the family of the emperor, but which were afterwards renewed with too cruel an efficacy." The most important of the changes we have alluded to, occurred in the private relations of their majesties. Until that period Napoleon had always used the same sleeping apartment as the empress, but he then took a separate one. From this he could descend into the other by a secret stair-case, and as he was very early in his hour of rising, he often made his appearance in the latter before his wife was up. At other times, Madlle. A. informs us, as he was fond also of retiring early, as soon as he was in bed he caused her to be called. He took great pleasure in conversing with her, and their conversation would sometimes be prolonged for hours; she often read to him some new work, which he liked her to do, as she read admirably, and loved, herself, to read aloud; and "when he was on the point of yielding to sleep, she descended the little stairway, and found the saloon in the state she had left it, for the company never separated, because the emperor had sent for his wife, and on her return, the conversation or the game were renewed at the point where they had been interrupted." The following extract gives an interesting, and we have no doubt, a faithful picture of the interior of the imperial household:

"The empress was addicted to sleeping late, and it rarely happened that she retired before half past twelve or one in the morning. It may be imagined how irksome the service of her majesty would have been for a person who required much sleep, the more, that in general it was necessary to enter into her apartment in the morning at a sufficiently early hour. Every evening she gave her orders, in this respect, for the morrow, mentioning at the same



time what she wished to take on waking: it was always some infusion or lemonade. After we had entered into her chamber, she used to remain some time longer in bed, the door being left open. When she wished to get up, she called, and as we were always on the alert, she never waited a minute. Never, unless she were indisposed, did nine o'clock find her in bed.

"When she had gone into her dressing-room, which she did immediately after rising, her hair-dresser was introduced. The first chambermaid in waiting might enter, and a woman of the wardrobe came to take her orders as to what she desired to wear. When she was not decided, various objects were presented to her to choose, and when the selection was made, which it often was not until after long hesitation, the rest was taken back, and then the physician paid his visit. Corvisart came from time to time on leaving the emperor; her majesty had the greatest confidence in him, and was much attached to him. One of the hallucinations of the empress was to imagine herself sick and nurse herself; she always asked Corvisart for some remedy to take, and as the good doctor had nothing of the charlatan about him, he would cause himself to be solicited for a long time before ordering any, or if he yielded, it was to give prescriptions of so innocent a nature, that their effect was precisely that of a glass of water.

"I one day, amongst others, saw the empress solicit Corvisart's permission to take a purgative dose with as much earnestness as a child would manifest to obtain the object of its caprice; the doctor was resolute; refusing, but always laughingly, which irritated her majesty a little, though she did not dare to get angry. Corvisart was a conscientious physician and not a courtier; and he always preserved his independence of speech, even with the emperor. The empress was subject to violent headaches, but she laboured under no other inconvenience; the *fond* of her health was excellent, and if sometimes it was deranged, it was owing to her excessive care.

"At eleven o'clock the breakfast was served, and her majesty never allowed herself to be waited for; the persons who were of the service of honour in attendance, were admitted to it. The emperor always breakfasted alone. Etiquette enjoined that the chamberlain in attendance should seek the empress in her apartment and conduct her to the table, and thus the thing was ordered. Occasionally the empress invited some ladies to breakfast who had been her friends before her elevation, and whom she continued to love as before; but as this displeased the emperor, she was deterred from doing it as often as she wished. When by chance the emperor came to the breakfast-table, and met persons not belonging to the day, he looked displeased, (*il faisait la grimace*): immediately the empress would rise and go with him into his apartment. This, however, happened rarely. In general, when the emperor visited his wife, he was delighted at finding her alone.

"After breakfast, her majesty went into the saloon, where the time was passed in conversation. When she gave private audiences, she passed into another small saloon contiguous to the first. She rarely went out. Sometimes only, when the weather was fine, she would take a ride in the Bois de Boulogne. She did not like residing at the Tuilleries so much as at Saint-Cloud or Malmaison, which was easy to be understood; for, when at the former, she was totally deprived of exercise, of which she was very fond. She was there as if immured in a prison. It sometimes happened that she attempted to walk in the garden of the Tuilleries; but it was in vain that she dressed herself in the simplest manner, and took the precaution of causing herself to be accompanied by a single lady attired as simply as herself, and a single chamberlain habited as a citizen; it was in vain that she chose the least frequented walks; she was always recognized almost immediately, which obliged her to return as soon as possible to her apartments. In this respect, I cannot help remarking how little discretion is shown by the Parisians with regard to sovereigns

and distinguished personages; they complain that these do not mingle with them, and it is by their fatiguing attention that they debar them from the pleasure of being incognito. It is well known that the same inconvenience was not suffered by the empress Maria Louise as soon as the emperor had caused the subterraneous passage leading from the terrass to the edge of the water to be constructed; but in the time of Josephine, there was really no means for the inhabitants of the chateau to breathe the fresh air, for if they placed themselves for a moment at the windows, a curious crowd was quickly collected below.

"It may be inferred from what I have just said, that the residence at the Tuilleries was very disagreeable to their majesties, particularly to the empress. Accordingly, as soon as the fine weather commenced, the court removed to Malmaison or Saint Cloud. At a later period the palace of the *Elysée* was arranged for them, and they passed some time there every year; but this mansion was too small to contain the whole household. The persons in attendance only repaired there by detachments, when their week of service came; the residue of the time we remained at the Tuilleries, where we were served as if their majesties had been there.

"It has been seen above that the empress would have liked to receive persons at her breakfast-table, if the emperor had approved of it; but his taste was very different, for, as I think I have said before, he always breakfasted alone, and never at a regular hour. The time of his breakfast was that in which, for the persons admitted into his presence, he was least the emperor and most the man. It was then that he chatted familiarly with the officers of his household; asking them questions about what was given to him: 'When was that bought?' 'How much did it cost?' And, when he was answered, he would often say: 'That was much less dear when I was a sub-lieutenant; I will not pay higher prices than others.' It was also during his breakfast that he received the artists, painters and sculptors, whom he permitted to study his physiognomy, in order to reproduce it in marble or on canvass, for it was very rare that he granted what is called a sitting. That happened, however, sometimes, and then several artists would avail themselves of the opportunity to catch his features, as if he was serving as a model in a work-shop. During these sittings he used to allow Talma, of whose conversation he was very fond, to pay his court to him. Talma exhibited admirable tact and discretion in regard to him; he never suffered a word to escape, even indirectly, which recalled the intimate relations he once had with the great man."

Our author narrates various anecdotes, illustrative of the domestic tyranny of the emperor, which furnish abundant proof that never was there a man so completely a despot by *vocation* as he was. The "*sic volo, sic jubeo*" rule was the only one which ever seemed to enter into his mind as necessary to follow, either in public or in private; and such was his almost anomalous egotism, that we can scarcely imagine an existence in which so much renunciation of self was indispensable, so much petty vexation, and harassing interference were to be constantly endured, as that of his wife. We have seen in the foregoing extract, the manner in which he prevented her from enjoying the society of her friends; and one anecdote recorded in the text, in relation to that matter, deserves to be noticed. Before her elevation, Josephine had been particularly connected with Madame de Tallien, and continued subsequently to cherish the intimacy, which Bonaparte determined

upon breaking off. He directed his wife, in consequence, to refuse to receive her; but, notwithstanding his orders, the friends contrived to see each other sometimes in secret. This coming to his knowledge, he renewed the prohibition in the most formal manner, and even wrote the following letter to her from the army upon the subject. It was dated at Berlin:

“My friend, I have received your letter: I am glad to know that you are in a place which pleases you, and especially that you are in good health. Who should be more happy than you? You should live without inquietude, and pass your time as agreeably as possible. Such is my intention.\*

“I forbid you to see Madame de Tallien under any pretext whatever. I will receive no excuse. If you are anxious for my esteem, and wish to please me, do not transgress the present order. She is to come to your apartments, and to come there at night; direct your porter not to allow her to enter.”

\* \* \* \* \*

“I shall be at Malmaison soon; I mention it to you that there may be no lovers that night: I should be sorry to derange them. Adieu, my friend, I long to see you, and assure you of my tender friendship:

“Monday, at noon.”

“NAPOLEON.”

The manner in which this letter came into Mademoiselle Avrillon's possession, is thus explained:

“The empress gave it to me with the request that I would keep it until she asked for it; her majesty wished to have it always at her disposition, in order to show it to the persons who might accuse her of forgetting her ancient friends, in consequence of her refusing to receive Madame de Tallien. Without doubt, she thought no more of it, and as for me, I never adverted to it afterwards, until some time ago, when, to my surprise, I found it among my papers: it is without date, so that it would be impossible for me to designate the precise epoch at which it was written, and, in general, it was seldom that the emperor took the trouble of dating his letters when he wrote to the empress.”

We shall translate here some desultory extracts in reference to Napoleon ‘at home,’ which are interesting and curious enough:

“The emperor sometimes was present at the toilette of the empress, and it was an extraordinary thing for us, to see a man whose head was filled with such important matters, enter into the minutest details, and designate the dresses and jewels which he wished the empress to wear on such and such an occasion: he one day threw some ink upon one of her dresses, because he disliked it and wished to force her to put on another.”

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“The emperor, who was always dreaming of economy when not occupied with war, used often to torment the grand marshal of the palace, Duroc, in relation to his expenses; he found that the consumption in the larder was too great. Means were then sought to ascertain whether the distributions went to their proper address, and nothing more ingenious was devised than to give *bons* in exchange for the objects of consumption. The name of the consumer was to be inscribed upon the *bon*. This caused several persons of the service of honour to abstain from asking for any thing, preferring to send for what they wanted out of doors. It was at Stupinitz that the first essay of

\*“This, taken in conjunction with what follows, means ‘it is my wish you should pass your time as agreeably as possible, if you pass it as I desire.’”



this arrangement was made; two repasts were furnished us a day; in the morning we were in the habit of asking at the *office* for what we wanted for breakfast, and it had been deemed well to charge the chief of each part of the service with the distribution of the *bons*. Desiring my coffee, I caused it to be asked for, in my name, by the person who waited upon me. She was told to address herself to the first valet-de-chambre, who would give her a *bon*. This answer she brought to me instead of the coffee. I was so vexed with this new measure, that I preferred going without breakfast. It may be supposed that I complained to the empress; she spoke about it the same day to the emperor, who laughed heartily, and revoked the order, the extensive absurdity of it having been fully felt.

"At Paris and St. Cloud we only made one repast, which was served at two o'clock; in the evening we received an indemnity for the supper which suited us very well; but it was not the same in travelling and in the places of residence."

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"If the emperor often preached economy to the empress, it cannot be denied that he set the example. His temperance was extreme, and when he saw a variety of dishes upon the table, he would scold: 'Sir,' he would say to his first maitre d'hôtel, 'you see well that you make me eat too much; I do not like that; it incommodes me; I wish to have but two dishes.' He was also very moderate in his use of wine, of which he never drank but one kind; it was almost always Chambertin, and of this he took very little. He ate with a rapidity which passes imagination, especially when his mind was occupied; he then really knew not what he was eating; and as every thing was put before him at once, it often happened to him to begin with a cake. After each repast he took a cup of coffee without milk.

"It was a great epoch in the palace, and particularly among the head attendants (*chefs de service*), when the emperor examined the annual budget of his establishment. Marshal Duroc, who was charged with the expenses of the household proper, had introduced a truly admirable order into this administration; the smallest waste was impossible, and every thing was paid with the most scrupulous punctuality. The chief equerry was charged with the expenses of the stables, and the chief master of the wardrobe with all that concerned the person of the emperor. Whatever economy, however, was practised, his majesty always found the expenditure too great; and when he could succeed in making some reduction, he was enchanted; he would boast of it to the empress, explaining to her what sums he had been able to economise. Doubtless he hoped to induce her, in the way of insinuation, to share his parsimonious tastes; but he preached in the desert; she always turned a deaf ear.

"In truth, the economical mania of the emperor was pushed too far; and if I take the liberty of making this observation, I shall prove it by a fact. To succeed in effecting all the economical plans of his majesty, it was necessary that some persons should suffer, and these were always the persons of the household. Without question our table was abundantly provided, and we should have been content with less; but at length they were progressively much less well served, and something was continually curtailed. It is not, however, to these retrenchments that I alluded when I said that the economical mania of the emperor was pushed too far: this is what I have reference to.

"The emperor entered so minutely into the most trifling details, that one day his attention was arrested by the account of the washer-woman, which he found much too high, and complained of it to Marshal Duroc. The latter, in order to comply with the frugal views of the emperor, directed that the persons of the household should change their sheets but once a month, and that they should have but two towels a month. There are few private houses

where a little more magnificence is not practised ; but the emperor had spoken, and the intervention of the empress was requisite to prevent us from being included in this measure."

"At the present moment, when I think of it, I cannot conceive how the emperor, so occupied, so constantly charged as he was with the great interests of his policy and government, could find time to enter into a multitude of little domestic details about which few men trouble themselves. 'What is that?' 'I have not seen that before.'—'What is the use of that?'—'How much does that cost?' Such were his habitual questions, and the conclusion was always: 'It is too dear!'"

"I will refrain from any observations about the toilet of the emperor, his favourite attire, his use of the bath ; I could only repeat what has been said by Constant. If his toilet occupied him but little, it was not the same with that of others : he was very exacting on this point with the persons who approached him, particularly with females. When he perceived in his saloon ladies whose costume was not nice, or whose toilet was badly made, it was an eyesore to him, and extorted his reproach. His particularity extended even to us ; it was necessary to be always in full dress, even when travelling ; he would not even suffer us to have a shawl upon our shoulders in the morning, and if he saw any of us with one, he would threaten to throw it into the fire. When he saw us in white riding-dresses (redingotes), he said that we were not dressed. 'I will not allow you to be thus *en pet-en l'air*.' Such was then his favourite expression, and it was often requisite for the empress to speak in our defence."

"I have often remarked, that when nothing troubled the emperor, he was very familiar with the persons of the household ; he spoke to us with a sort of *bonhomie* and freedom, as if he had been our equal ; but when he thus addressed himself to us, it was always to ask questions, and in order not to displease him, it was necessary to answer without appearing too much embarrassed. He gave us sometimes a tap or pulled us by the ear, favours which he did not grant to every one, and we could judge of the degree of his good humour by the greater or less pain that he gave us. One day, when he was apparently better satisfied than usual, he pinched my cheek so strongly that the pain extorted a cry, and, as I was fat, I kept for several days a visible mark of the satisfaction of his majesty. It is not necessary to say that in acting thus, the emperor had no bad intention ; the pain that he gave us did not occur to him. Often he treated the empress in the same way when we were in the act of dressing her ; he would slap her playfully upon the shoulders by preference, and it was all in vain that she would say to him: 'Stop, stop, Bonaparte,' he persevered as long as the joke pleased him. The empress would try to laugh, but I more than once surprised tears in her eyes. She always preserved an unalterable sweetness towards the emperor, and a complaisance the like of which I never saw in any other person. If I have made the same remark before, I am not afraid to repeat it."

"I can assert that all the persons who had head employments in the establishment of the emperor, were filled with zeal for his service. He was not severe and violent, as some persons have taken pleasure in falsely reporting ; he was even very easy to serve, provided exactness was observed ; and he was very indulgent to the little faults which might be committed. Always extremely polite towards every body, he never received the least service from any one, whoever it might be, without thanking him, and he never called a valet-de-chambre otherwise than *Monsieur*. When he passed through the room where they remained, he always saluted them. It was the same when

he visited the empress ; he always spoke to us with the greatest politeness, and even kindness. In short, he took such an interest in every thing that concerned his establishment, even to the most inferior ranks of the service, that no one, not even a labouring man, could be sent away without his authorization : it was requisite to make him a report upon the case. I may relate here a fact touching this subject, for the authenticity of which I can vouch, though I cannot mention the person from whom I have it. One day, upon the reiterated complaints of a *maréchal-des-logis*, or of an adjutant of the palace, Marshal Duroc requested the emperor to sanction the dismissal of one of his footmen. His majesty having asked the reason, the grand marshal told him, that from the accounts which had been brought to him, the man was in debt, and was the object of perpetual demands from his creditors. The emperor, and this proves to what an extent he entered into the minutest details of the household, asked Duroc how long the man had been in his service, and what was the origin of his debts. 'Recollect, Duroc,' said he, in these words, 'a man should not be dismissed lightly from my service, as it is a brand ; he would never afterwards be able to find a place ; make me another report.' The grand marshal, wishing to know the truth for himself, caused the footman to appear in his presence, and learnt that he had debts in fact, but that they were contracted at a period anterior to his entrance into the establishment of the emperor, and that he had even paid a part of them from his wages ; that he still owed two thousand francs, and that he was the father of five children. When, possessed of this information, Marshal Duroc made a new report : 'You see,' said the emperor, 'that this matter has been acted upon too inconsiderately ; tell the man that I will pay his debts, but warn him at the same time, that if he incurs any whilst in my service, he shall be sent off without mercy.' "

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"When the emperor had become habituated to the rank which elevated him so much above all that surrounded him, the different positions of those who were attached to his service disappeared, so to speak, from his eyes. If, in conformity with the laws of the etiquette of the court, he sent ostensibly one of his chamberlains to ask after a great personage who was sick, he also sent, through interest, and a real affection, to obtain information about his health, one of the persons belonging to his domestic service. Nevertheless, it must be observed, that he disliked any one to be sick ; next to a scrupulous exactitude in the accomplishment of duty, good health was one of the surest means of pleasing him. When any one was frequently indisposed, he was wont to say : 'But that man is a blockhead !'

"The following are some traits of the emperor that come to my mind. During our sojourn at Milan, M. Nitot had brought a large quantity of jewellery, by way of precaution, in case their majesties might desire to make presents on the occasion of the coronation (as king of Italy). As M. Nitot had confided them to me in order that they might always be at the disposition of the emperor, it was I who was called in case of need. One day the emperor desiring to give a little ring to two of the *dames d'annonce*, as well as to Mademoiselle L——, caused me to bring the jewellery to him of which I was the depository, and chose for each of the ladies a ring of small price, but to which he gave a great value by presenting it himself. I confess that I had flattered myself that I should not be forgotten on this occasion ; but I was, to my infinite regret ; not that I cared for the intrinsic value of the thing, but because I should have been happy to possess any thing that came from the emperor. The empress did not imitate this parsimony, for she rarely neglected an opportunity of offering a *souvenir* to the persons attached to the service of her husband. On new year's day her chamber resembled a children's toy-shop ; there were some articles worth as much as twenty-five



louis; she took great pleasure in distributing her collection herself among the children of the ladies of the court; it was also a glorious day to the jeweller, from whom she made large purchases. When, for example, any one of her household married, she always asked the husband to present his wife to her, and the latter never departed without carrying away some testimony of the munificence of her majesty."

One feature of Napoleon's character is exhibited by our author in glaring and revolting colours, without, however, any particular effort on her part to do so, as she does not seem to think—judging from the *nonchalance* of her tone whenever she refers to it—that it should render him obnoxious to any very serious censure. We allude to his libertinism, about which statements are made, and stories told, as well calculated to convey the idea of a reckless profligate as Leporello's famous catalogue of Don Giovanni's mistresses. The establishment of Josephine was rendered by him almost the counterpart of a Turkish sultan's harem. Scarcely a female entered into it, possessing the fatal advantages of youth and beauty, whose virtue he did not overcome, and when the frailty of his victims was discovered, he "sacrificed them without difficulty to the jealousy of his wife," allowing them to be turned away with the most heartless indifference, regardless, in most instances, of their ulterior fate. He did more, he was even guilty, at times, of the inconceivable baseness—in this respect Mademoiselle Avrillon says with sufficient *nai-veté* or coolness, she could not help strongly 'disapproving' his conduct when the empress mentioned it to her—of revealing hidden defects, and on the occasion of an avowal concerning one person, naming such and such a lady of the court, who was no way concerned in the case whatever, 'et qui n'avait rien eu à lui refuser.' He seemed to consider persons of the other sex as mere instruments for the gratification of appetite, to be discarded when the purpose was served. In the words of the text, "he regarded love as a pastime, without ever permitting any thing like sentiment to mingle with it; upon this point it was impossible to be more of a materialist than he; the object of his worship in the evening had no longer any attraction for him on the morrow; and as he attached little importance to these passing *liaisons* himself, he was astonished at that which was given to them by the empress." Our author states that to her knowledge, the only woman who ever inspired him, if not with a real passion, at least with an attachment of some durability, was a Polish lady, Madame de Waleska, whose acquaintance he made in his Polish campaign. She abandoned every thing to follow him; but their interviews were always enveloped in mystery. He had a son by her, who was said to resemble him in the most striking manner, and to whom he gave one of his secretaries as a tutor, and an income of 30,000 livres a year. This lady was treated by Josephine with the greatest kindness. "Her majesty rendered justice to her excellent qualities; she was good, she said, and had

never caused her any chagrin." We suspect, however, that the conduct of the empress in this case was occasioned by the determination of Napoleon to retain his paramour, as the latter must have given her much more real cause for "chagrin" by the comparative permanence of the impression she had made upon her husband, than any of the other objects of his sensuality, on whom she poured the wrathful vials of a wounded spirit. This opinion is confirmed in a measure by another instance, recorded by our author, of the deportment of the empress in reference to an Italian lady, Madam Gazzani, whom Napoleon would not immediately abandon. She behaved towards her with similar apparent kindness, and even created a titular situation for her in her household, which she was doubtless constrained to do by the emperor, in order that the connection might be somewhat veiled. On a third occasion she was obliged, for the purpose of colouring the sudden departure of Mademoiselle L., whom she had discharged for her want of resolution in resisting the dazzling influence of imperial rank, to admit her into her circle on an evening when there was a grand reception at court. "So habituated was she to obedience, that no one could have perceived her secret torture; it was only in the privacy of her own chamber that she dared to give vent to the sufferings of her breast; it was there only that she confided them to me, that she could allow her tears to flow freely, certain as she was of my perfect discretion; alas! it is not only in this circumstance that I have had an opportunity of perceiving that more thorns than roses are to be found in the crown of an empress."

Excessive jealousy was a prominent trait of Josephine's character; yet, strange as it may seem, she persisted in always surrounding herself with young and beautiful girls, thus, in the phrase of our author, sowing the path of her husband with temptation, "and then she would take it in very ill part if he paid them attention, which sometimes produced genuine family quarrels." In spite of all this, however, Mademoiselle Avrillon asserts that Napoleon was one of the very best husbands she has ever known—and we may here mention that she herself has been blessed with a lord and master, although she retains her maiden name, in her capacity at least of author, and probably because it was under this designation that she was known as the imperial *femme-de-chambre*. When Josephine was sick, she says, he would pass as much time with her as he could snatch from his affairs; when he awoke in the night, he would send his mameluke to inquire after her, or come himself,—great attention, certainly, on the part of a husband, who occupied a separate room from his wife, though, perhaps, she would not have objected to his dispensing with this mark of affection, as it must have disturbed her slumbers. "Nothing that I utter," continues Mademoiselle A. "would

appear exaggerated to those who could have witnessed, as I have done, the proofs of attachment which the pair gave each other reciprocally; and I have the certainty that when political reasons constrained them to separate, all the grief was not on one side."—Nonsense. We do not deny that even if Napoleon had loved his wife, he would have been capable of sacrificing his feelings as well as her happiness to his inordinate ambition; but how, whilst he entertained a real affection for her, he could have pursued the animal course which he did, lacerating her bosom in its tenderest part, and have treated her so cruelly in other respects, it is impossible to understand. It were vain to say that such a being is not to be judged by the ordinary standard; there are principles of human nature whose operation must be the same, in a greater or less degree, in every 'mortal mixture of earth's mould.' If he is to be segregated from humanity in regard to this matter, the consequence must be to degrade him to the brute. For his own sake, indeed, it were better to believe, that whatever may have been his sentiments in the commencement, towards the person who received his plighted faith, they did not always continue to predominate in his breast. We cannot help thinking that such was the case; that Josephine was viewed by him after his elevation in the light of a pageant, a necessary appendage to the pomp and circumstance of his court; and this opinion we are induced to hold, maugre his affectionate epistles which have been recently circulated, not only from the disclosures in the volumes before us, but from almost all the works in relation to him that we have seen.

There was another subject which engendered as much strife between the pair, as the infidelity of the husband and the jealousy of the wife—we mean her disposition for expense. She laboured under an absolute *mania* for buying, 'merely for the pleasure of the thing,' and would often purchase the most costly articles, which could be of no utility to her whatever. The shopkeepers and artisans, aware of her propensity, naturally took advantage of it, and would crowd to offer her their tempting stores. The consequence was, that her expenditure invariably far surpassed her income, 'of which beneficence absorbed a large portion,' and then it was necessary to apply to the emperor for the means of paying the surplus. He always eventually furnished them, "but not until after scenes so lively that they amounted to violence. He would fly into a passion; she would cry; an accommodation would ensue, and she would make a strong resolution of being 'naughty' no more, but to no purpose; 'her natural propensity was too strong,' and she would recommence the old system of profusion. She was certainly not a person who could ever have been made to understand the possibility of being 'passing rich on forty pounds a year.'



Malmaison was a perfect *fons lachrymarum* for the money-spending empress, the enormous sums that she lavished upon it bringing her frequently into strife with the economical emperor. Some idea may be formed of her mode of dealing with filthy lucre, from the assertion of Mademoiselle Avrillon, that she saw her pay three thousand francs for the root of a plant which she wished to place in the gardens of the palace. She conceived a great fancy for botany, and according to our author, made it the object of serious study, so as to acquire a complete knowledge of the names of the various plants, of the families in which they were classed by naturalists, their origin and their properties; but the exchequer of her husband suffered for it, and we doubt whether he was excessively delighted or edified by her scientific pursuits.

"I have not dissembled the fact that the spirit of prodigality was an incorrigible defect of the empress; but by how many qualities was it redeemed! I do not believe that there ever existed a woman of a better disposition, of a more equable temper. She was gay in the extreme, and complaisant beyond example; if the emperor was indisposed, in the slightest degree, or if any thing happened to trouble him, she was, so to speak, at his feet, and in such cases he could not do without her. Too communicative, perhaps, as to what concerned her personally, or in relation to things of little importance, she showed herself discreet, impenetrable, with regard to what was confided to her by the emperor. It has been currently reported in the world that the emperor used to be indebted to her for advice. I do not know how true this is, but it is at least possible in the sense that, as the empress received a great number of people, and among these could count some sincere and devoted friends, she was acquainted with all that was passing, and might at times furnish the emperor with information. One thing, at all events, is certain—the truth often reached him through the mouth of his wife."

The goodness, affability and benevolence of Josephine form the frequent theme of enthusiastic, and, we doubt not, merited panegyric in the 'monument' of Mademoiselle Avrillon. We may smile occasionally at the extravagance of her phraseology with regard to matters of trifling import, verifying as they do the sonorous sentence of Dr. Johnson's Ghost in his 'Rejected Address,' that 'parturient mountains often produce muscicular abortions,' but we can easily excuse it for the sake of its source. Her gratitude has every appearance of genuineness and fervour, and furnishes the strongest proof of her assertions respecting the excellence of its object. She is particularly energetic in her expression of it when relating the kindness she experienced from the empress on the occasion of a very serious accident which befel her: "she would remain for hours near my bed of pain; she was in reality my angel of consolation; for, and I speak the truth, though I cannot account for it, it is a fact that, as long as her majesty was near me, my sufferings were suspended, as if her goodness possessed a magnetic power capable of overcoming the acutest torture." It is a

great pity that more of this magnetic goodness does not exist in the world, for the benefit of patients, however much it might interfere with the interests of the gentlemen of the medical profession.

Mademoiselle Avrillon is also 'pretty considerably' vehement in her contradiction of the reports which have been propagated about the superstition of her mistress, and at the same time denies the truth of the current anecdote of the prediction of Josephine's destiny by the old negro woman of Martinique, on the ground that neither she nor any of the other attendants ever heard a word alluding to it from her mouth. Thus it is, she remarks, that a false rumour, spread at first to amuse the idlers of a great city, is greedily swallowed by the lovers of the marvellous, commented upon, amplified, transferred from conversation into books, emulously repeated, until it ends by usurping the place of truth so effectually, that reason is deprived of all power of rectifying the error. A similar prediction is on record as having been uttered in relation to Madame de Maintenon, of which this one, she thinks, is nothing but a revival. As to superstition, she affirms that the empress was perfectly free from it, that she was not even subject to the little weaknesses with which her sex is reproached. She further maintains that she was by no means timid, and mentions several instances of what she deems her courage, which, however, do not seem to us, we must confess, to entitle her altogether to rival the reputation of the heroine who dealt destruction in the ranks of the army of Æneas, or of her whose life-blood could only be spilt by the unconquerable sword of Tancred.

A love for the arts is another feather which our author is studious to display in the cap of Josephine. She exhibits her as the constant and delicate protectress of artists, and celebrates the pleasure which she derived from their conversation. Music, especially, was fostered by her benign influence, her fondness for it being passionate. In this predilection she resembled the emperor, whose devotion to sweet sounds may be imagined from the munificence by which he induced the unrivalled Signor Crescentini to attach himself to his court. Besides a fixed income of fifty thousand francs, he made him frequent presents of great value. He never permitted him to appear upon the public stage, the boards of the private theatre of the court being the only ones on which he was at liberty to pour forth his eloquent strains. On one occasion, the emperor was so enchanted with his performances in Zingarelli's opera of *Romeo e Giulietta*, that he sent him the cross of the order of the *Couronne de Fer*, a circumstance which produced quite a sensation in Paris, and highly displeased the officers who were decorated with the same mark of distinction. To Italian music he accorded a decided preference,—no mean proof of his good taste.

The relatives of the imperial couple come in for their share of the notice of our worthy *femme-de-chambre*. She confirms the accounts which have been given of the ill-will of the immediate family of the emperor, particularly his sisters, towards Josephine, at which she intimates surprise, as the latter always treated them, she says, with the greatest attention; not recollecting that the unpardonable crime of which she was guilty in their eyes, was the circumstance of her being the wife of the emperor, by which she prevented him from making an alliance co-ordinate with his exalted station and their own overweening ambition. Pauline, especially, was her enemy; when living under the same roof with her in the palace of Fontainebleau, she was in the habit of giving small parties in her dwelling, to which Josephine was never invited; and at these Napoleon, instead of resenting the indignity as a husband of tender feeling would have done, sometimes made his appearance. They used to cause the empress the greatest unhappiness, according to our author, as 'she knew that her sister-in-law surrounded herself as much as she could with very beautiful and very complying ladies.' This was not long before the divorce, a measure to which Pauline was constantly urging her brother. Eliza, Madame Bacciocchi, is represented as bearing a strong resemblance to Lucien in countenance, and to Napoleon in the positiveness of her character. Our author states that it is acknowledged by persons who inhabited Tuscany during the period when she administered its affairs as grand duchess, that her government was marked by wisdom and firmness. She possessed little beauty, though she had the reputation of being not much less gallant than the model of Canova's Venus; but nature had compensated her for this deficiency of personal charms, by intellectual endowments of no ordinary kind. Caroline, the wife of Murat, is described as equally favoured in the latter respect, with external attractions much superior; her head being very fine, her complexion extremely fresh, and her skin of dazzling fairness, though her person was small, and became inclined too much to embonpoint. The following anecdote, in which she figures, is taken from the volume before us:

"A saddler whose name I have forgotten, had long endeavoured to obtain from Madame Murat the payment of a bill amounting to nearly sixty thousand francs, but to no purpose. Not knowing to what saint to prefer his vows, he determined to address himself directly to the emperor; and on the day of a review he placed himself in his way, and presented the account, with a note. A happy chance having caused Napoleon to cast his eyes upon it immediately, he said to Marshal Duroc: 'Have that man told not to go off; I wish to speak to him after the review; have him conducted to your house.' In effect, when the review was over, the emperor repaired to the residence of the grand marshal, where the saddler was waiting for him, fearing a reprimand for the step he had taken; but having examined the account, and discussed



the price of various articles, the emperor paid the debt, substituting himself for the saddler as the creditor. Then turning to the grand marshal: 'Take this,' said he, giving him the paper, 'and send it to Madame Murat. I expect her to pay me to-day.' It was paid."

For the husband of this lady, king Joachim, our author affirms that Napoleon had not much love. He disliked, amazingly, the style of his toilet, above all 'his curls falling over his shoulders, giving him the appearance of a theatrical monarch.' He often ridiculed his dandyism in his hearing, at times with positive acrimony, and generally spoke of him in terms that were any thing but flattering. She pays her tribute, however, to the chivalrous valour which might almost have caused him to be regarded as a resuscitation of one of Ariosto's heroes, as well as the generosity of his disposition, and the elegance of his person.

The three sisters were alike tormented with the ambition of reigning, though Caroline was the only one whose desire was fully gratified. "Scarcely had the first consul become emperor, when they began to persecute him for a crown, and in spite of the supernatural energy of his character, he sometimes indulged his attachment to his family to absolute weakness." We wonder if it be an unjustifiable question to ask, whether the genuine motive which actuated Napoleon to accomplish the elevation of his family, was the affection he entertained for them, or the fulfilment of his own selfish plans of aggrandizement. The manner in which he placed diadems upon the heads of his brothers, without consulting their inclinations in the least, bandying them from one throne to another, as it suited his purposes, would certainly seem to authorize the latter supposition. There was no *weakness* in Napoleon with regard to any thing but himself.

Joseph is portrayed by our author in the same colours as by every one else who had opportunities of appreciating his excellent character. He took no part, she says, in the intrigues of the rest of the family against the empress, who used to see him with pleasure. "The life which he led at Paris as a French prince, pleased him much more than a crown." He hesitated a long time before he consented to ascend the throne of Naples, and that of Spain he did not accept, "*qu'à son corps défendant.*" For Louis our author manifests no extraordinary partiality. His treatment of his wife is reprobated severely enough, and represented as of a nature calculated to give rise to the rumours which were circulated about her deportment, false as they were. "His indefatigable jealousy persecuted her incessantly, and in all places; ingenious in tormenting himself, he spied and caused others to spy her most insignificant actions, her most natural proceedings." Such a system, of course, was not very well adapted to win her affections, which had in no way influenced her consent to the marriage, this

being one of the alliances arranged by Napoleon in the plenitude of his despotism to further his immediate views; on the contrary, it destroyed her happiness and materially affected her health.—The portrait of Hortense herself is drawn with a *con amore* pencil, as well morally as physically. Her beauty, her accomplishments, her virtues, are alike depicted in glowing hues. The revolting story of the more than intimacy that existed between her and her stepfather, is indignantly rejected by Mademoiselle: “it is one of the mendacious reports which should not be refuted, for fear of investing them with an importance they do not deserve; those persons only who had been witnesses or actors in the scenes of debauchery at the end of the reign of Louis XV. could attach to it the slightest credit.”

The other child of Josephine is likewise a great favourite with our author, whose pen seems redolent of gratitude wherever she refers to any one in whose veins ran a portion of her mistress's blood. Two of his virtues are particularly the theme of eulogium—his filial devotion and his dancing—but as to which of them should most entitle him to the admiration of posterity, she is distressingly perplexed. His marriage with the daughter of the king of Bavaria, and that of Jerome with the Princess of Wurtemberg, are represented as the only happy results of the match-making propensity of the emperor, all the others eventuating as forced matrimonial transactions generally must. Speaking of a lady in whose good graces Eugene stood high, Mlle. A. mentions the elegance of her *taille* and her *tournure*, and takes occasion to draw a distinction between those two terms of inestimable value, which we must be permitted to extract in the original, as we could not do justice to it in our clumsy ‘vernacular.’

“Les hommes en général ne font pas une grande distinction entre la taille et la tournure d'une femme; mais nous qui y regardons de plus près, nous savons marquer la nuance qui sépare ces deux qualités dont la réunion produit la perfection: la tournure est à une belle taille, si l'on veut me permettre cette comparaison, ce que la physionomie est à une jolie figure; c'est l'expression de toute la personne.”

The topic of the divorce is treated by Mlle. A. in considerable detail. She asserts that however much the measure may have been approved by the family and the courtiers of the emperor, and perhaps by some of his enemies, it was viewed with an unfavourable eye by France. The blow itself, she thinks, did not cause more suffering to Josephine, than the preliminary circumstances. After the emperor had taken his resolution, he was constantly seeking opportunities for finding fault, in order to justify its accomplishment. All familiarity between the couple ceased; the emperor wore an air of embarrassment, and seemed to avoid all occasion of being left alone with his wife, who, on her part, no longer accosted him but with dread. Her tears were incessantly

flowing, in spite of her efforts to conceal them from the persons by whom she was surrounded. Whenever a minister or a dignitary of the empire came to see her, she pressed him with indirect questions, equally tormented by the desire of knowing her fate, and the apprehension of learning it; but she could obtain only evasive answers. Her sole consolation, then, was in writing to her son, whose letters in reply, which the empress sometimes read to Mlle. A., are described as models of filial piety, without, however, containing any thing disrespectful to the emperor—a forbearance which perhaps speaks quite as well for his discretion as his feeling. There was sense and prudence, undoubtedly, in his conduct throughout the whole transaction; but we cannot help thinking that if he had evinced, in reference to his mother, a little more of the spirit which actuated him when a boy to claim the sword of his father, he would not have been deemed altogether unpardonable by any save the tribe of “economists and calculators.”

“I was not on service the day when the emperor announced to the empress the terrible news which was to overwhelm her with despair, in spite of all preparatory precautions; I did not even see her during the whole of that cruel day. It was only in the evening, after my return to the palace, that I learned that her majesty had been taken ill in the apartments of the emperor; that she had been seized with a violent nervous fit, from which she had been recovered with great difficulty; that she had been carried into her apartment; and that there had been a great deal of commotion in the palace. This was all the information I could obtain, not being able to discover positively the cause of the event, which, however, I divined but too well. I went to bed a prey to the most devouring disquietude.

“The next day being my day of service, I entered, as usual, in the morning, into the chamber of the empress. When the valet-de-chambre in waiting had partly opened one of the shutters and retired, her majesty said to me, in an agitated voice, ‘Come near my bed, I have much to tell you; but see first that the door is well shut.’ Having obeyed her direction, I approached the bed, and beheld her in a condition truly worthy of compassion; her red, swollen eyes testified too well the quantity of tears she had shed. She then related to me all that had passed the evening before; she told me that the emperor had communicated to her his determination to have the divorce pronounced, and that each of his words had been interrupted by her sobs. At this revelation I was annihilated, as if an invisible power had all at once stopped the circulation of my blood, and in spite of my too just presentiments, I could not restrain a cry of surprise (rather an unusual evidence, by the way, of ‘annihilation’), which fortunately was not heard without. The grief that I felt must have put me in a state of despair, of which I was not sensible, as it was the empress who soon was obliged to console me. She made excuses for the emperor, against whom, in the first instance, I had allowed too strong an expression to escape my lips. ‘He is in agony,’ she said, ‘at the idea of separating from me; he told me so; he also cried in saying to me: It is the greatest sacrifice I could make to France; he uttered those very words, and with what a tone of suffering he spoke them! Yes, I know it well, he must have an heir to his glory, a child in whom he may live again and consolidate his empire; I cannot doubt his attachment; he has sworn that he never would require me to quit France.’

“This idea of never quitting France, to which her majesty several times recurred, seemed to me the greatest alleviation of her grief. I was astonish-



ed, after the first ebullition, to see her become so calm in detailing to me, with a sort of complacency and pride, all that the emperor intended to do for her: 'He told me further,' she said with tears of *attendrissement*, 'that he would always be the same for my children, and that he would come often to see me in my retreat; he will permit me to reside at Malmaison; he desires that I should continue to enjoy the greatest consideration, and will allow me the disposal of a considerable revenue.'

"The usual hour of making her toilet having arrived, she told me to retire, after having enjoined the closest secrecy as to what she had confided to me, as it was requisite that nothing as yet should transpire in the palace, and I left the room with extreme caution, in order not to awaken the suspicions of the other persons of the service. Her majesty then rose as usual, and succeeded in commanding herself sufficiently to cause it to be supposed that her dejection and paleness were only the natural consequences of the indisposition of the preceding evening. Thus the knowledge of the divorce was shared at first by very few persons, and it will be seen eventually with what exactness the emperor performed all his promises."

Some time elapsed before a suspicion was entertained in Paris of the important measure in contemplation. The emperor was desirous that his subjects should not be taken by surprise. It was his habit, says our author, to prepare opinion by half revelations, with regard to what he wished to do; "by this means censure was exhausted by doubt, and when, according to one of his favourite expressions, the pear was ripe, no one was astonished at what he had anticipated." The precaution, she affirms, was certainly not useless in this case "as the empress was beloved for her affability, her goodness, her beneficence; it was, besides, the generally received idea that she tempered the irascibility of the emperor's character." The first intimation of the project that was afforded to the public, was on the occasion of a ceremonial which took place in Notre-Dame, to which the emperor and empress repaired in separate carriages, a circumstance that had never occurred before. It was remarked, however, by but few persons, during the procession itself, in consequence of a singular mistake, but one at the same time easily intelligible, which we must permit our author to explain in her own words, not being sufficiently versed in the vocabulary of the wardrobe to furnish the equivalent in English:

"Le roi de Westphalie était dans la voiture de l'empereur; bien qu'il fût sur le devant, un grand nombre de personnes le prirent pour l'impératrice, s'étonnant seulement de la voir occuper le devant de la voiture, et, en vérité, cette erreur était bien excusable. Qu'on se rappelle que le roi de Westphalie était petit et mince, d'une assez jolie figure, mais ayant des traits peu caractérisés; que l'on se souvienne en même temps de son costume efféminé; qu'on le revête d'un habit de satin blanc brodé en or; que l'on entoure son cou d'une collerette; que sur le devant de sa poitrine on fasse pendre un long jabot de dentelle; qu'on le coiffe d'une toque de velours noir, ombragée d'un vaste panache de plumes blanches retenues par un nœud de diamans; qu'on le décore ensuite de couleurs barriolées, des rubans et des colliers des ses ordres; qu'enfin on le place dans une voiture où son buste seul était apparent, et l'on ne sera nullement surpris qu'on ait pu prendre le roi de Westphalie pour une femme."

The report of the separation of the emperor and empress in a

ceremonial, where the former appeared alone as sovereign, and the latter merely as first spectatress, was soon circulated throughout the city, and, in the words of the text, "fit pressentir le mot de l'enigme." So notable a change in the usages and etiquette of the court could not fail to be interpreted as the forerunner of some such event as it really prognosticated. This was not long delayed. We give what our author says in relation to it:

"A few days after the solemnity of the Notre-Dame, that is to say, on the 15th of December 1809, the divorce between their majesties was pronounced, and officially avowed. In spite of the consent she had given, the empress suffered cruelly during the fatal day which preceded this lugubrious ceremony. It took place in the evening, in the apartment of the emperor, with all the parade of which it was susceptible. The princes and princesses of his family, the arch-chancellor, and all the other dignitaries of the empire, were present at it.

"On that day the empress made her toilet as usual; but, notwithstanding her efforts to hide her grief, one must have been blind not to perceive, from the redness of her eyes, how much she had wept. Her sad, dejected air was painful to behold, but the equability of her temper was not for a moment disturbed. Whilst her hair was dressing, I observed that she often cast her eye upon a paper, which I found to be the written discourse which she was to pronounce before the emperor, and which had been given to her to commit to memory.

"When her toilet was finished, she ascended into the emperor's apartment at the accustomed hour. There the divorce took place, she listening to the reading of the act which separated her from the man she had never ceased to love, with a courage which might be called supernatural. I did not see her that evening, not being in attendance when she retired; but all that I witnessed, all that every one then in the palace witnessed and can attest, is that the consternation in the household was general, and that tears were standing in every eye. How could it be otherwise? The empress had always been so kind to every body! Which of the servants of the emperor did not regard her as a providence? In effect, it was always she who was addressed whenever a favour was to be solicited, or a right to be established, and no one can have forgotten with what sweetness she attended to every request."

At about two o'clock on the following day, in pursuance of the arrangements that had been made, Josephine departed from the Tuilleries, never to return to them, with a detachment of her household, in which our *femme-de-chambre* was included. She confessed that to indifferent eyes there must have been something comical in the *déménagement*, as, besides a parrot, she was entrusted with the care of a canine family, consisting of father and mother, and a reasonable quantity of offspring, which had just been ushered into existence. The sire, by the way, was a most important personage in the establishment of the empress, being her chief favourite, and of course treated by every one in such a manner as to induce the supposition that the universal motto in reference to the darling animal, was the phrase of honest Cob in Ben Jonson's 'Every Man in His Humour:' "I do honour the very flea of her dog." His death occurred not long afterwards, and seemed to create as much unhappiness in the breast of his mistress

as the loss of her husband and her crown. During his last moments she caused him to be attended by her own physician, in conjunction with a celebrated dog doctor; and once absolutely made a gentleman of her suite give him a *lavement*.

At the moment of the departure, Napoleon was preparing for a review—no very strong demonstration of the misery which he told his wife he suffered from the “sacrifice”—so that the approaches to the palace were filled with troops, in addition to the crowd of people attracted by curiosity or interest. What an extraordinary spectacle must have been presented by the whole scene! Malmaison was the place of destination of the ex-empress. Her establishment there was put upon the most extensive and expensive footing, even to the point of having a woman whose only duty it was to cut her nails and wait upon her when she took a bath. The talent of spending which she possessed in so remarkable a degree, was afforded ‘ample room and verge enough’ for its exercise, by the profuse generosity of the *ci-devant* husband, who thought, perhaps, that this would be the most efficient consolation he could provide. Besides a variety of large sums for different purposes, he granted her an income of three millions of francs, advising her, however, to put aside a moiety every year, in order to leave something to her children, and telling her that she would forfeit his good opinion, if she ran into debt with an allowance so considerable. But his munificence was almost nullified in her estimation by the manner in which he deprived her of her favourite *hair-dresser*, to give her successor, Maria Louisa, the exclusive advantage of his services. The name of this important personage was Duplan, and such was the value attached to his skill, that when to the offer of Napoleon to give him the same salary as he received from Josephine, which was neither more nor less than twelve thousand francs, he had answered that the latter permitted him to operate upon the heads of other persons, by which he gained as much more; the emperor promised him twenty-four thousand on the express condition that he should devote himself to the new empress alone. The monopoly, however, was subsequently infringed by Napoleon’s permission, but only in favour of the Duchess of Montibello. Josephine, says our author, was ‘wounded to the bottom of her soul’ by his heartless proceeding, for besides the grief she felt at losing a person to whom she was accustomed, and whose services she valued, she imagined she beheld in it the prelude to other sacrifices which she would be required to make. The new source of tears was partly dried by the affection of her daughter, the Queen of Holland, who sent her her own *coiffeur*, a proficient scarcely inferior to Duplan in the mysteries of the art.

Napoleon sometimes came to Malmaison, but his visits were rare. They were always announced beforehand, and wore an air



of ceremony and constraint. He was constantly accompanied by two of the principal officers of his service. He never embraced Josephine, but on arriving would give her his arm or his hand, and the two would take a walk in the park, sometimes sitting upon a bench, and conversing for a long time. It was easy, however, says our author, to perceive that he always affected to remain within sight of the windows of the chateau—a precaution which was attributed to the jealousy of Maria Louisa, and his desire of preserving tranquillity in his new *ménage*.

A characteristic story is related by Mademoiselle, of the courtiers, who were in a lamentable quandary, at first, as to what conduct they should observe in reference to the ex-empress. A few following the impulse of feeling, paid their devoirs to her after her installation at Malmaison, but the majority whose vocation it was always to “rain sacrificial whisperings in the ear” of power, abstained from taking any steps, until some intimation of their master’s sentiments was afforded. It was given rather more abruptly than they desired. At a levee, he asked whether they had visited Josephine. “The answer was somewhat ticklish. Ought they, or ought they not to have done so? Those who had not, contented themselves with a profound bow as a negative sign; others gave their inclination an affirmative appearance; but all muttered their reply in such a way that the emperor could catch no distinct idea of what they said. Observing their embarrassment, he said to them with that tone of *amiability* which he possessed in so great a degree when he chose: ‘Gentlemen, it is not well. You should go and see Josephine.’ Scarcely was the levee terminated, when the road to Malmaison was covered with vehicles. Away went the courtier! The emperor had spoken.” From that moment Josephine was never in want of society.

The rest of her life was chiefly passed at Malmaison, though not without some gentle hints from her husband—who even after he had repudiated her, continued to love her, according to Mademoiselle, with the tenderest affection—that her residence at some mansion not quite so much in the vicinity of Paris would not be unacceptable. To induce her to coincide with him in his views on this point, he bought the domain of Navarre for her, and erected it into a dutchy, which she was to enjoy during her life. It was then to accrue to Eugene, and after him to his heir male, on default of whom it was reversible to the female branch of his descendants; these failing, it was to return into the possession of the crown. On two occasions only she repaired to this estate, in accordance with his desires, but she did not remain very long—the occasions of the approaching entrance of Maria Louisa into Paris, and of the expected birth of the king of Rome, alias the Duke of Reichstadt. When the latter event took place, the emperor informed her of it in a letter, in these words: “My dear Josephine,

I have a son; I am at the height of happiness," and to celebrate it she gave a magnificent ball. Our author is positive that the joy which she testified was heartfelt, and we have no right whatever to dispute her opinion, expressed as it is, in terms so positive.

At Malmaison Josephine kept what is called open house. Concerts, dinners, and other entertainments followed each other in such almost uninterrupted succession, as to demonstrate that she was either the victim of an unhappiness which she was making desperate efforts to vanquish, or that grief was by no means feeding upon her heart, 'like a worm in the bud.' It will not, we trust, be deemed uncharitable to express our conviction that the latter was more probably the case. The whole account of her deportment, even with all the pathetic ejaculations of her sentimental *femme-de-chambre*, about the intensity of her affliction, has strongly impressed us with the idea, that however much her vanity may have been hurt, and great her regret at being deprived of the brilliant station which she occupied, no inmedicable wound was inflicted upon her spirit. The consolation which, judging from the extract we have given above, she seemed to take in the circumstance, that she would not be constrained to leave France, and that she would be furnished with ample pecuniary resources, indicates that those two points were very important as compensations, and that her apprehensions as to them being at rest, a very considerable portion of her load of unhappiness was removed. It may be obliquity of vision, but we cannot perceive that the divorce elicited from her any manifestation, either of great sensibility or of imposing elevation of character. Indeed, we cannot well imagine why she should have pined away from anguish at having been released from bonds which, gilded as they were, must have oppressed one of her disposition to such a degree, that an escape from them could not have failed to create something like the sensations of a disenthralled bird; and one fact, casually mentioned by Mademoiselle, that her health improved at Malmaison, may be reasonably construed into a confirmation of this remark.

When fortune had turned her back upon the man who had so long been her unrivalled favourite, and his enemies had succeeded in reaching the gates of his capital, Josephine hastily removed to the estate of Navarre. There she remained until her daughter wrote to her to return, the allied sovereigns, especially the emperor Alexander, having testified every desire to treat her with the highest consideration. Accordingly she retraced her steps, and was soon waited upon by the autocrat, who behaved towards her in such a manner as to bring our author's propensity for panegyric into glorious play. Mademoiselle is likewise very earnest in maintaining that the winning affability of her deportment towards Alexander, is to be ascribed to her maternal devotion—to her hope

of ceremony and constraint. He was constantly accompanied by two of the principal officers of his service. He never embraced Josephine, but on arriving would give her his arm or his hand, and the two would take a walk in the park, sometimes sitting upon a bench, and conversing for a long time. It was easy, however, says our author, to perceive that he always affected to remain within sight of the windows of the chateau—a precaution which was attributed to the jealousy of Maria Louisa, and his desire of preserving tranquillity in his new *ménage*.

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The rest of her life was chiefly passed at Malmaison, though not without some gentle hints from her husband—who even after he had repudiated her, continued to love her, according to Mademoiselle, with the tenderest affection—that her residence at some mansion not quite so much in the vicinity of Paris would not be unacceptable. To induce her to coincide with him in his views on this point, he bought the domain of Navarre for her, and erected it into a dutchy, which she was to enjoy during her life. It was then to accrue to Eugene, and after him to his heir male, on default of whom it was reversible to the female branch of his descendants; these failing, it was to return into the possession of the crown. On two occasions only she repaired to this estate, in accordance with his desires, but she did not remain very long—the occasions of the approaching entrance of Maria Louisa into Paris, and of the expected birth of the king of Rome, alias the Duke of Reichstadt. When the latter event took place, the emperor informed her of it in a letter, in these words: “My dear Josephine,



I have a son; I am at the height of happiness," and to celebrate it she gave a magnificent ball. Our author is positive that the joy which she testified was heartfelt, and we have no right whatever to dispute her opinion, expressed as it is, in terms so positive.

At Malmaison Josephine kept what is called open house. Concerts, dinners, and other entertainments followed each other in such almost uninterrupted succession, as to demonstrate that she was either the victim of an unhappiness which she was making desperate efforts to vanquish, or that grief was by no means feeding upon her heart, 'like a worm in the bud.' It will not, we trust, be deemed uncharitable to express our conviction that the latter was more probably the case. The whole account of her deportment, even with all the pathetic ejaculations of her sentimental *femme-de-chambre*, about the intensity of her affliction, has strongly impressed us with the idea, that however much her vanity may have been hurt, and great her regret at being deprived of the brilliant station which she occupied, no immedicable wound was inflicted upon her spirit. The consolation which, judging from the extract we have given above, she seemed to take in the circumstance, that she would not be constrained to leave France, and that she would be furnished with ample pecuniary resources, indicates that those two points were very important as compensations, and that her apprehensions as to them being at rest, a very considerable portion of her load of unhappiness was removed. It may be obliquity of vision, but we cannot perceive that the divorce elicited from her any manifestation, either of great sensibility or of imposing elevation of character. Indeed, we cannot well imagine why she should have pined away from anguish at having been released from bonds which, gilded as they were, must have oppressed one of her disposition to such a degree, that an escape from them could not have failed to create something like the sensations of a disenthralled bird; and one fact, casually mentioned by Mademoiselle, that her health improved at Malmaison, may be reasonably construed into a confirmation of this remark.

When fortune had turned her back upon the man who had so long been her unrivalled favourite, and his enemies had succeeded in reaching the gates of his capital, Josephine hastily removed to the estate of Navarre. There she remained until her daughter wrote to her to return, the allied sovereigns, especially the emperor Alexander, having testified every desire to treat her with the highest consideration. Accordingly she retraced her steps, and was soon waited upon by the autocrat, who behaved towards her in such a manner as to bring our author's propensity for panegyric into glorious play. Mademoiselle is likewise very earnest in maintaining that the winning affability of her deportment towards Alexander, is to be ascribed to her maternal devotion—to her hope

of securing his protection for her children; but we do not think that she owed so deep a debt of gratitude to Napoleon, as to render it an injury to her to suppose that she was willing to make the best terms for herself also with the conquerors. It was of little consequence, however, what she may have made for her own sake; the moment was near when all sublunary interests were to fade from before her eyes. Whilst at Navarre, symptoms of prostrating debility had manifested themselves, and her indisposition was greatly increased by an expedition, after her return to Malmaison, to St. Leu, the country residence of Hortense, who had invited the Emperor Alexander to spend a day there, in consequence of a wish he had expressed to behold the beauties of the spot. The efforts which she was obliged to make to do honour to the imperial guest, were too much for her weakened frame. She did not, however, seem to be in any immediate danger, as the day after getting back from St. Leu, she ate as usual at table, and appeared so well, that our author, whose turn of attendance was just then finished, went to Paris to spend the interval of service. "Alas!" she says, "little did I think, when I received her orders before departing, that I heard for the last time the sound of that voice so mild, of those words so kind, which rendered her the object of such just admiration." The following Friday she learned in an indirect way, that her mistress was suffering from a cold and sore throat, but as she was always subject to these complaints, she attached no particular importance to them; but on Sunday, which happened to be the day of Pentecost, she received a message from Malmaison stating that the empress was seriously ill. She immediately set off in a carriage, but met an acquaintance on the road, who informed her that Josephine was no more! "What I felt on hearing this intelligence, is one of those impressions which no human language can depict." Hurrying on to Malmaison, she ascended to the apartment of her mistress, and beheld the sad confirmation of the fact. "The empress was lying upon the bed; never did death more strongly resemble life; she had all the appearance of a person sleeping; she was pale indeed, but her features remained the same; there was not the slightest contraction of her face, save a slight turn of the corners of the mouth, which recalled her habitual smile with marvellous truth. I took her hand and kissed it with religious respect; the skin had preserved all its elasticity, and the natural warmth had not yet disappeared." After she had sufficiently composed herself,—though if the tenth part of the incredible sufferings by which she says she was overwhelmed, had been really endured, her survival to tell of them would be one of the most incredible miracles that ever opened the eyes of wonder—she obtained from M. Horau, one of the physicians, the details of the afflicting event. The evening of the day she had gone to Paris, Josephine had been seized with shiverings and frequent nausea,

and the next morning was completely covered with a millary eruption, which disappeared at the end of twenty-four hours as suddenly as it came. Violent fevers, suffocating oppression, and extraordinary debility then followed, which all the power of medical skill in vain endeavoured to combat, and a few hours before our author's arrival, the sufferer had breathed her last, at the age of fifty-two.

"I declare loudly and sincerely, that the misfortunes of Napoleon were the great, perhaps the only cause of the premature death of Josephine," is the solemn asseveration which Mademoiselle makes of a fact which we do not think she establishes so conclusively by her *ipse dixit* as that of the death itself. Without question, it is not to be doubted that these disasters, calculated as they were to affect the fate of Josephine, in so material a manner, may have induced considerable trouble and perturbation of spirits; but to attempt to inspire the belief that the mortal blow was struck by sympathy, is evidence of much more affection, on the part of our author, than wisdom. By the account of what the physician told her, it appears that it was the indiscretion of Josephine in leaving her bed, despite of his injunctions, in order to receive the princes of Prussia, whom she desired to conciliate, which gave the malady its fatal turn. When he represented to her the imprudence of the act, she replied in rather a sharp tone: "You should recollect, M. Horau, that I cannot do otherwise."

This gentleman has communicated a dialogue which occurred between him and Napoleon, about the death of Josephine, that is sufficiently curious to warrant our extracting it:

"You did not leave the empress during her sickness?"

"No, sire."

"What was the cause of her sickness?"

"Disquietude—grief."

"You think so?"

"The emperor dwelt upon this phrase; his voice changed; he looked fixedly at the physician, and repressing a sigh, continued his interrogatories."

"Was she long sick? Did she suffer much?"

"The malady lasted for a week, sire."

"Did she know that she was dying? Did she manifest courage?"

"A sign that her majesty made me, when she could no longer speak, left no doubt that she was aware of her approaching end; she appeared to me to meet it without weakness."

"Good, good," said the emperor with feeling, approaching Mr. Horau with vivacity, "you say that she suffered from grief—what grief? whence did it come?"

"From what was passing sire; from the position of your majesty."

"Ah! she spoke of me, then?"

"Often, very often."

"Here the emperor passed his hands over his eyes, from which big tears were dropping. 'Good woman,' he said, in a sad tone; 'good Josephine,' she loved me truly, did she not? She was French!"

"Yes, sire, and she would have proved it, had not the fear of displeasing you withheld her; at least she had conceived the idea."



“‘What is that? what would she have done?’

“‘She said, that had she been then empress of the French, she would have traversed Paris, with eight horses, and her whole household in full livery, to go and join you at Fontainebleau, and never more quit you.’

“‘She would have done it, sir; she was capable of doing it.’

“The emperor paused, wiped his eyes, and for some time was absorbed in reflection; then with a tremulous voice, although with an effort at smiling, he resumed the conversation, dwelling with a sort of pleasure upon the smallest details of the illness, upon the persons who surrounded her at the hour of her death, upon the sorrow of her children. M. Horau has told me that it is impossible to convey an idea of the sensibility of his language, the pathos of his looks, and the grief of his gestures.”

Such was the end of the empress; a few years afterwards the career of the emperor was closed upon the barren rock of St. Helena.

“*Oh curas hominum, oh quantum est in rebus inane!*”

It is a striking and melancholy fact, that not the remotest allusion is made in these volumes to the existence of any thing like religious feeling in the breast of Josephine. Not the smallest hint is given that she ever sought after that consolation which is the only sure balm of the wounded spirit—that she ever essayed to drink of the waters of the fountain of life. Her views, her aspirations, seem not to have extended beyond the horizon of this world, even when the loss of an earthly diadem might well have awaked the desire of obtaining that other crown of which possession can never be forfeited. We may hope, however, that had our author been present at the concluding scenes of the singular drama of her life, she would have been able to record some manifestation of sentiments in happy consonance to the awful nature of the moment.

An explanation of the indifference of Josephine on this point, if not an apology for it, may be easily found in the character of the epoch in which her lot was cast—an epoch at which not only the precepts of religion, but the ordinary laws of morality appeared to be held as nought. In this respect, the period of the domination of Napoleon was, in reality, scarcely less reprehensible than the ferocious one by which it had been preceded, however specious, comparatively, may have been its gloss. It is impossible to read any of the publications relating to it, without feeling convinced that corruption was then near the acme, and though vice, in one sense, may ‘lose half its evil by losing all its grossness,’ in another, it becomes doubly dangerous from the loss by the superior fascinations which it thus acquires. The court of Napoleon, notwithstanding his affected particularity with regard to the characters of the ladies who were admitted at it, was the very focus of profligacy, beginning with himself and his female relations. How strong and beautiful a contrast to the loathsome picture which it exhibits, is that which is furnished by the conduct of the present royal family of France! We might even venture to predict their

permanent existence in the elevated station they occupy, on the sole ground of the wholesomeness of the moral atmosphere which they breathe and diffuse. The admirable example that they offer, must exert the most salutary influence upon the people at large, who are but too apt, in general, to pay much more heed to the practice than to the precepts of their rulers; and thus the most durable cements will be given to the throne.

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### NATIONAL BANKS—ENGLISH AND AMERICAN.

ART. IX.—*Report from the Committee of Secresy on the Bank of England Charter, with the Minutes of Evidence, Appendix and Index.* Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 11th August, 1832.

*An Act for giving to the Corporation of the Governor & Co. of the Bank of England, Certain Privileges for a Limited Period under Certain Conditions.* August 29, 1833.

*Legislative and Documentary History of the Bank of the United States including the original Bank of North America.*—Washington, 1832.

“Good as the bank” is one of the old saws which we owe to the simplicity of our English forefathers,—but we live in a wiser age, and reserve our credulity for untried experiments. Whatever is, is wrong—“Bad as the bank” is therefore now the adage. Its government charter is proof of corruption; the silver in its vaults is the fruit of iniquity, and its prudent regulation of the currency—unquestionable tyranny; such has ever been in republics the spirit of the multitude—fickle and jealous. “I am tired with hearing Aristides called the just”—let him be banished. “I am wearied with hearing the praises of the bank for its preservation of a sound circulating medium”—let it be put down. The banks of a republic, like its free citizens, should be self-governed. Such is the language of ignorance, fostered by pride, and willing to pull down the very pillars of society rather than be subject even to the semblance of control,—but some things there are, which may not be left to self-government, and among them, by common consent, is the issuing of money, whether coin or paper. In what manner that control had best be exercised is therefore the only question—and like all questions of general expediency, to be rightly settled, must be determined, not by the ignorant, but by the intelligent; not by the caprice of one, but by the calm and wise deliberation of many.

To government experiments on currency we are no great friend,

independently of the question of knowledge. Rulers in general greatly mistake their power on such subjects—not only are they proverbially stronger than they are wise, but even their very strength is turned to weakness by misapplication. Thus Mehemet Ali of Egypt proposes to raise the value of the piastre from five to seven cents, by the threat of cutting off the noses of all recusants—and to make the matter surer, forcing them, it is said, to eat the flesh. Our own President, again—“*magna componere parvis*”—in order to equalize exchanges between the Western and Atlantic states—removes the public deposits from a place of safety to one of risk, and to ensure the success of the experiment, cuts off from all deniers what is almost equally hard to lose with the nose on their face, office and salary; and even, Ali like, has forced, it is said, some (Egyptians we presume) to eat up their own words, which they had uttered against him.

But in the meantime things go on in both countries worse than before; the rebellious piastre will not now even count for five cents, and the stubborn exchanges have risen instead of falling under the blow that was levelled against them. So much for Executive experiments\*,—but on this point Congress also has a task to perform, and in the united wisdom of that body we hope for better things. The question of a National Bank, already twice settled affirmatively by them in the course of our political existence, after solemn hearing and full deliberation, is soon again to be tried, and we would fain trust, will be tried upon its merits; we shall at least add our mite of influence that it may be so, and now enter upon this, directing the attention of our readers to the valuable mass of facts and reasoning contained in the works which stand at the head of our article.

Upon this subject we enter, not as apologists of the bank,—for such we are not called upon by the question to be—nor yet as advocates for its renewal, for such, without modification, we certainly should not be—still less, however, do we appear as patrons and admirers of its opponents, for we think it has had hard measure dealt to it—all these being minor questions, with which at present we have nothing to do—but we enter upon the question of a National Bank, simply and solely as a great problem of financial expediency, and one which is to be worked out by the rules of science and the lights of experience. We take it up, therefore, in that spirit of calm philosophy which is most favourable to the attainment of truth; we regard it also as a most momentous question, a feeling still further favourable to truth as awakening a conscientious sense of that responsibility which rests upon every man, be his in-

\* The only wise autocrat on these subjects we remember on record, was Victor Amadeus, of Savoy, who, according to Voltaire, declined the flattering schemes of that famous projector Law, with the witty reason “qu’il n’étoit pas assez riche pour se ruiner.”



fluence great or small, who employs that influence towards the decision of a matter on which so much depends.

Much prejudice and some ignorance stand in the way of this question,—the ignorance may easily be mastered, for the mystery of banking lies less in the subject than the manner of treating it; and the great principles of currency, when fully explained, turn out to be but first rules of common sense. If any doubt this, we recommend to their perusal a little work entitled “Early Lessons on Money Matters, for the Use of Young People.” It is understood to be from the pen of one who has already sounded the depths of the science, Whately, Archbishop of Dublin, and Professor of Political Economy at Oxford—a writer who transfers to every subject he treats the clearness of his own conceptions, and who, under the guidance of a Christian philanthropy, seems to find time and inclination for all useful labours. Nor shall we despair of removing prejudice, if the intelligent and candid of both parties will but agree to put under the ban all questions foreign to the true one. Among the matters which in our opinion should be *tabooed* among honest men, are the following:—

1. All connexion with party. The existence or non-existence of a National Bank, with all its bearings on currency, is certainly no partial or party question. “Money,” says Swift, “is neither Whig nor Tory;” so was it in the days of Anne, and so it is now all the world over. When a man’s pocket is invaded “*Trös Tyriusve*” is nothing to him—so that neither Clay nor Jackson will carry it against a clear perception of honest interest. Now this is one great hope for a right decision, if men can be but brought to see,—what none who candidly examine but must see,—that the question of a National Bank is a question of national currency, and therefore intimately allied to the private interest of every individual in the country who has any thing to lose. In seeing this, they cannot but acknowledge that it is a question to be settled by an appeal, not to party motives or temporary interests, but to the principles of financial science, and to our own and other countries’ experience. This will make a man sharp-sighted to perceive that Congress in this matter is legislating about *his* concerns; and as the dealer in iron or wool will not stand unconcerned when the debate is upon his trade, so neither will any man when money is in question, for in that he knows that every man is a dealer, and whatever else his occupation, he buys and sells that many times every day. Let no man, therefore, stand aloof, as thinking himself uninterested in its decision. What touches the value of money touches the interest of all and each—the fireside comforts of the labourer are equally at stake with the profits of the capitalist—

*Equo pulsat pede, pauperum tabernas  
Regumque tures.*

Nor let any again flatter himself with exemption as belonging to the dominant party; for the majority who carry it and the minority who resist it, will find themselves equally involved in the results, be they good or bad.

On all these accounts, then, let party be no longer named among us, as becometh prudent men. Hitherto a National Bank has been treated as a question of politics; it is time to take it up upon principle. If, in the language of the wise man, "there is a time for all things," then surely is the time come in this matter for calm and prudent deliberation; the hour approaches when discussion must be turned into action; well then were it for those who are called upon to decide, to have now a breathing spell, that they may gather up their scattered senses, and look, at least, "before they leap." And such, fortunately for us, is the natural course of all momentous questions: they arise upon individual cases; they are argued upon partial interests; then they run into heat and mutual recrimination, until at length the minds of men, wearied and stunned with controversy, seek for peace in the haven of principles, where alone they can find a common ground of settlement. We utterly reprobate, therefore, the language once spoken and often acted upon on the floor of Congress, (Mr. Eppes,) viz: "That the Bank of the United States originated with a party, was supported by a party, and was to be decided on party principles." As a sentiment we detest it, and as a fact we deny it. It was not true of the bank of 1791, of which it was spoken, and still less is it applicable to that of 1816, which now exists. At the first named period, party had not developed itself; and a reference to the Journals of that Congress will show that the final vote was one of principle, and not of party, the vote standing in the House 39 to 20, and in the Senate 18 to 5. Nor is it true of the present. Between the years 1791 and 1816 political power had changed hands; the majority of the one period was the minority of the other, and the same hands which pulled down the first bank, built up the second. The charter of the present bank, therefore, can certainly have no taint of federalism in it; it came fresh from a republican committee; was recommended by two successive republican secretaries of state; received the sanction of Mr. Madison, and in its passage through both Houses of Congress was advocated indifferently by men of all parties as the only hope of relief from what one (Mr. Webster) well termed "a system of rank speculation and enormous mischief." On few occasions, indeed, has principle so evidently triumphed over party as this, even leaders being not ashamed to acknowledge that, schooled both by adversity and experience, they were ready to unite with their political opponents in carrying a great remedial measure for the good of the country. It was the proud language of one on that floor (Mr. Clay,) "I prefer the interests of the community to the suggestions

of the pride of consistency, and am determined to throw myself on the candour and justice of my country.”—*Debates 11th Congress.*

2. A second prejudice to be set aside, is that which confounds the question of *any* National Bank with the merits or demerits of the *present one*. Now these, it is obvious, are two different questions. How far the present United States Bank has answered the purposes for which it was established, it would be “travelling out of our record” to inquire; thus much, however, we would say for it—let no man lightly write its epitaph, or recite its failings. It had, it is true, its period of embarrassment, perhaps of shame, when in its weakness it became the prey of designing men; but let us add that it arose in the midst of a chaos out of which it was not easy to steer the course of safety. Taking it from the year 1820, when it first became strong in that commercial confidence in which all banks must eventually rest, we would ask the reader to lay his finger on any similar establishment, either in Europe or elsewhere, which has done so much, and erred so little. It brought back at once our state banks to specie payments; in four years time it reduced their swollen issues from sixty-six millions of dollars to less than forty millions; it assumed and made good to the treasury above seven millions of doubtful paper; collected and distributed for the government within ten years (1820 to 1830), without loss and without charge, above two hundred and thirty millions of revenue; and above all its other merits, it established and maintained, for the country at large, a sound, uniform, and everywhere convertible currency of paper, in all parts of the Union, equal to silver, as circulative, and better than silver when demanded for remittance. The words of praise bestowed upon its predecessor rise to our recollection. “Broken up,” said Mr. Ingersoll, “as this institution has been, and subjected to the severest test of investigation, the wisdom, fidelity, and punctuality of its transactions have been manifested in the strongest light, and, I think, it would be hazarding not a little to disregard them.”—*Debates 11th Congress.*

But be its merits or demerits what they may, they must not prejudice the general question. Wherever experience has shown it to be sound and operative, there let us follow it; where insufficient let us strengthen it; where unsound let us amend it; since, for all this it is that a *limited* charter is granted: but let us not for any partial errors, with the folly of hasty childhood, needlessly cast ourselves on the wide ocean of untried experiment, or, in the spirit of sophistical reasoners, conclude from a “*secundum hoc*,” to a “*hoc simpliciter*.”

3. That a National Bank, such as the present one, is a dangerous source of influence and power, is another of those bug-bears of fear which fraud holds out to frighten ignorance. Before it was



tried it might be pardoned even to statesmen; the fear some felt and many feigned of the creation of a monied aristocracy, which might prove dangerous to our liberties and fatal to the independence of government. But the period for conjecture is long past, and we have facts before us which he who runs may read. Experience has dissipated all such illusions; the directors of a national bank have turned out to be merchants instead of politicians, and the power which was supposed to threaten universal conquest, has eventuated in being unable to maintain itself. Thus was it with the former Bank of the United States, and thus it is likely to be with the present one; and now to charge upon them the possession or the abuse of political power is but the mocking of the wolf seeking an argument of self-defence against the powerless lamb! On this point the opposers of the bank have to choose between the horns of a dilemma. The bank either has exerted its influence or it has not exerted its influence; if not, then there is no charge against it; or if it has, then the result has shown that its influence is altogether nugatory—such is the language of facts. The bank of 1791, charged with having been established by federal influence, and acknowledged to have been in federal hands, (for the obvious reason that the capitalists of the country were then found in the ranks of that party,) stood forth, in the language of Mr. Eppes, “the shield and sword” of a federal administration. But mark the issue. To this dominant party, thus doubly entrenched by gold and office, came *defeat* instead of *conquest*, and the federalists were ousted from all political power with that very engine uncontrolled in their hands, the possession of which we are now told would enable even a minority to attain it. So little indeed had that bank of political influence, that it happened singularly enough, when it came forward in 1810 for the renewal of its charter, after nineteen years of monied control, that the only states having a Federal representation in both Houses of Congress, were states in which no branch of the bank had ever existed, while every section of the country in which a branch had been established, except the town of Boston, was represented on the floor of the house by Republican members.—*Journals*, 11th August.

The threatened fate of the present is also a sufficient guarantee of its political feebleness, since what friends and foes combined to establish, to use the words of one of the latter as “not only necessary but *indispensably* necessary to the country,” the caprice of party, not to say of one popular leader, is now found sufficient to overturn.

But it is idle to charge upon banks what as such they cannot but flee from, even as “nature abhors a vacuum,”—all connection with politics. From the hand of power they must indeed derive their name and legal existence, but that is all; to give vitality

goes beyond the creative power of a legislature. The true being of a bank comes from capital; they are the children of commerce, and from merchants as their parents they derive the traits of their character, ever "studying to be quiet and do their own business." And what is that business but a form of credit resting on the breath of public opinion? Their profits are the petty gains of money loans, resting upon funds not their own, and promissory notes which they are bound at any moment to redeem. Credit, therefore, is the very breath of their nostrils, and that cannot but suffer by the reputation of intimacy with borrowers so needy and powerful as governments too generally prove to be.

No bank, therefore, it may be confidently asserted, will be political if it can help itself. It may indeed be forced into it by authority, as in the case of the Bank of England, which in the "Minutes of Evidence" is exhibited as a most unwilling tool in the hands of the ministry; or it may be goaded into it through the agencies of self-defence, as was the case on some occasions with the former Bank of the United States; or its name and claims may be causelessly dragged before the public—as has been the fate of the present one—by executive instructions, and made the pass-word of party without its sanction, by men who seek other objects; but left to itself, the Bank of the United States, like every other bank, seeks not influence, but profit, and that in a quiet course of business, as advantageous to the community as to itself.

It is due in justice, too, to redeem our national banks from the charge of oppressing the banking capital of the country. Under the old Bank of the United States, with a capital (ten millions) far greater than all the other capital then applied to the same business, the state banks grew up in number from three to two hundred and sixty, and the banking capital from less than half a million to above eighty millions of dollars. Under the present one their number and capital have alike nearly doubled; and so far has its course been from tyranny, that the charge against it by "the Committee of Inquiry" in 1819, distinctly was that it "had not exercised with sufficient energy the power it possessed, and thus increased one of the evils it was intended to correct."—*Report of Committee, 16th January, 1819.*

4. We may further agree to consider the constitutionality of a National Bank as an adjudged case. For this we have the highest authority, whether we look to the man, his office, or his candid change of opinion. Mr. Madison, who had opposed the Bank of North America in 1781, and the first Bank of the United States in 1791, thus writes to Congress in 1816:—"The constitutional question is, in my opinion, precluded by repeated recognitions, under varied circumstances, of the validity of such an institution in acts of the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of the government, accompanied by indications in various modes of a con-

currence of the general will of the nation." Now if this were so in 1816, how much stronger the argument in 1833, after another act of Congress establishing, and seventeen years more of undeviating recognition of a bank on the part both of government and people, and the solemn hearing and adjudication of the question in the highest of our national tribunals (*M'Culloch vs. State of Maryland*; *Osborn and others vs. President and Bank of the United States*, 9th Wheaton, 738).

Surely, if the question once was doubtful, it is no longer so. That course of practice which settles doubtful law, has settled for us the doubtful reading of the constitution, and on the same ground that the judge is withheld from the exercise of private opinion lest he unsettle adjudged law. May we look for deference on the part of the legislator to those who have gone before him? Though, therefore, some casuist may read unconstitutionality in the exercise of a power, when even he must admit both that "the end is legitimate and the means appropriate," yet let him hesitate, we say, how he unsettle that which the father of his country and the framers of its constitution laboured to establish; which every subsequent administration has recognized; every secretary of the treasury, up to the present one, has lauded; and the only interval of whose existence during forty-four years, is remembered in our government annals as a period of chaos, imbecility and disgrace. And then, if his sickly sensibility still "strain at the gnat," while it is ready to "swallow the camel," we can only turn him over to the tribunal of his conscience, and bid him weigh well the value of his scruples against the result of his acts. We can but remind him of the day of our emergency, when, for the want of such a bank (we allude to the fifteen million loan of 1814!) the government had been bankrupt but for the funds of three resident foreigners, one not even a naturalized citizen—"the government having borrowed of the state banks (to use words uttered on the floor of Congress), until the banks became as poor and almost as discredited as the treasury itself." To all such reasoners, however, as are willing to go on the principles of law and common sense, we say, let the question of constitutionality be henceforth excluded from debate.

These prejudices being set aside, not only will the field of inquiry be narrowed, and the point in dispute greatly simplified, but what is of still more importance, the main causes removed which lead disputants into error. A National Bank now becomes a simple question of financial expediency, having reference to no other interests than the facilities it affords to government, and the control it tends to exercise on the circulating medium of the country. And taking it up in this—which certainly is its only true light—we have reason to esteem ourselves fortunate that before we are called to decide, we can have before us the full and rigid examination of the analogous case of the Bank of England ;



a review of this, in its privileges and operation, will tend to throw light on the great financial question which is common to both countries, as well as remove the prejudices arising from a misapprehension of the similarity between the two institutions.

The charter of the Bank of England being about to terminate 1st August, 1833, a Committee of Secresy was last year appointed by the House of Commons, with a view "to inquire (as the order of the house runs) into the expediency of renewing the charter of the bank, and into the system on which banks of issue in England and Wales are conducted, with power to send for persons, papers and records."

The importance of the question, and a desire for the thorough elucidation of the subjects involved, naturally placed upon the committee the first talents of the house, and especially such as were most conversant with finance. Among them we note Mr. A. Baring, Sir H. Parnell, Mr. Atwood, &c., and among the witnesses called before them, men of the first intelligence in each of the four great interests affected by the decision, viz: The Bank of England, the country banks, the joint stock banks of recent origin in the manufacturing towns, and the private London bankers.

The result of this committee was the report of the "Minutes of Evidence," prefixed to our article, which contains not only what heretofore has been buried in profound silence,—we mean the interior organization and management of the bank,—but, it may be said, the sum and substance of what England can teach us with her experience of one hundred and forty years of "the mode and mystery of banking." In English reports, contrary to our practice, the views of the committee on great controverted questions rarely appear; they content themselves with reporting evidence, while the talent and judgment of the committee are shown in the selection of witnesses and the series of elucidating questions addressed to them. Such is the character of the present volume—a report of fifty lines, and minutes of evidence extending to eight hundred folio pages.

A preliminary outline of its history will give clearness to the exposition of its principles. The Bank of England received its first charter 27th of July, 1694 (5 and 6 Wm. III. c. 20). Its principal projector was William Patterson, an enterprising and intelligent Scotchman. Government being at the time much distressed for money, partly from a bad system of taxes, and partly from the doubtful credit of William's revolutionary government, the bank grew out of a loan of £1,200,000 for the public service. The subscribers, beside receiving eight per cent interest for their money, and £4000 a year for the trouble of paying dividends, were incorporated under the title of the Governor and

Company of the Bank of England, but prohibited from engaging in any other dealings than bills of exchange and gold and silver.

In 1708 (7 Anne c. 7), owing to the attempted rivalry of a private company, entitled "the Mine Adventure Company," an act was passed forbidding any issues of notes throughout England from firms with more than six partners—upon which act is founded the bank's monopoly of the circulation. The operation of this, however, by the act of 1826, was limited to London, and a circuit of sixty-five miles. The charter, when granted, was to continue for eleven years certain, and has since had seven successive renewals for the respective terms of five, twenty-two, ten, twenty-two, twenty-two, twenty-six and twenty-one years, which brings it down to the first of August last, when a new charter was granted for ten years, with, for the first time, some very important modifications. The bank was thus in its origin a mere financial bank, its convenience to the public being limited to being a place of safe deposit for unused balances—a want under which the merchants of London had long laboured—and reloaning, of course, to that extent. At each renewal of the charter, its capital has been increased, and a bonus demanded by the government, or a new loan on favourable terms; until at the present time the whole amount of its capital £14,686,000 is in the hands of the government, beside all its surplus, amounting to as much more—on which debt different rates of interest are paid: That on the original debt beginning at eight per cent, having been successively reduced by the paying off dissentients, until it fell about the middle of the last century to three per cent, which, on being funded, received the appellation by which it has since been known of the three per cent consols.

It is here worthy of remark, as bearing upon a question often discussed among us—that the discount operations of the Bank of England have from the first been conducted upon a vested capital, and consequently without the control of any other funds than what those very operations commanded. The result of a case, however, thus isolated and guarded, though settling conclusively the scientific question, is not to be hastily concluded in regard of banks like ours, open to competition, and pressed on all hands by jealous rivals.

In the course of its existence, the Bank of England has several times, and from various causes, been brought to the verge of bankruptcy. Within two years after its establishment (1696), during the great re-coinage of silver, it was compelled for a short time to suspend payment of its notes. In 1745 the advance of the Highlanders on London caused a run which they were fain to delay by paying out shillings and sixpences. In 1793, the failure of about one-third of the private banks led to a demand for gold, which was with diffi-

culty met; and in 1797, under the influence of panic, the bank unwisely solicited from government, and we may add, unfortunately obtained, an order for the suspension of specie payments. This led to the "Restriction Bill," under which for twenty years, their notes being a legal tender, their issues were unlimited, but by the arbitrary will of the directors. A return to specie took place under Mr. Peel's bill in 1819, since which time the bank has not ceased to redeem its paper, though, on one occasion, at the sacrifice of consistency, a bundle of one pound notes, accidentally found and promptly issued, alone saving them from a stoppage in the great run of 1825. The progressive fall in the denomination of their issue, marks the corresponding advance of paper as a substitute for coin; their early notes were all for £20 and upwards. In 1759, they first began to issue five pound notes, and in 1797, two and one pound notes. The issue of these latter ceased in 1821 on their return to specie payments.

The amount of their circulation in 1718 (first report) was

		£ 1,829,930
Its maximum	1817	30,099,908
The average of	1832	18,542,000

*State of the Bank 7th of August, 1832.*

Circulation	- - - -	£18,819,000	
Deposits, public and private	- - - -	11,431,000	
Rest (balance)	- - - -	2,880,000	
		<hr/>	£33,130,000
			Securities.
Public	- - - -	£20,828,000	
Private	- - - -	5,148,000	
Bullion	- - - -	7,154,000	
		<hr/>	£33,130,000

Let us now compare the Bank of England with that of the United States in its *privileges, connexion with government, convenience to merchants, and securities against excess in the currency.*

1. *Exclusive privileges.*—In the Bank of England, these amount to a virtual monopoly of the circulation, limited, indeed, in the country, but actual and complete within the prescribed limits of sixty-five miles around the metropolis.

The public deposits are also a monopoly by charter: they cannot be removed; the bank allows no interest upon them, and performs no service for them, and yet loans them back to the government, to whom they belong, at a rate of interest often above the market. The amount so held is of course very variable, and much less now than formerly. Its average in 1807 was rising £12,000,000. In 1832, a little under £4,000,000.



The Bank of the United States, on the other hand, enjoys no monopoly either of circulation, or as it now evidently appears, of public deposits. Its charter is neither prohibitory nor exclusive; nor has it any other privilege than that which is necessarily involved in a government charter, viz. that its notes shall be received in payment of duties, and its banking operations free from state taxation, which might otherwise render nugatory the act of the general government in its establishment. The Bank of the United States therefore is merely "*primus inter pares*"—the first among many brethren. From the government, therefore, this bank receives no favour. Its chartered advantages were paid for at the time by an estimated equivalent—the public deposits have ever since been balanced by the uncharged services it rendered in their multiplied transfers\*—while the value of those deposits may be said to have been at all times diminished by holding them subject to an arbitrary discretion of removal. This long threatened blow has at length fallen upon the bank—and fallen harmless. This fact adds something, at least, to our experience of a National Bank. From an institution which is exposed to it, it removes all charge of monopoly; and from one that can bear it, all suspicion of unsoundness; it proves, as already said, that even a National Bank should have its roots in commercial confidence.

The dividends made by the two institutions sufficiently mark the distinction between them. In the Bank of England, while the current rate of interest was carried from two and a-half to five per cent, the dividends have fluctuated from four and a-half to ten, besides a surplus being accumulated equal to their whole capital, marking, most conclusively, monopoly profits. In the Bank of the United States, on the other hand, while the market rate of money has varied from five to eight per cent, the dividends of the bank do not average one; and the stockholders will not probably receive beyond their original investments, which shows, as conclusively, *average*, and not *monopoly*, profits.

2. *Connexion with Government.*—In its *open* connexion with government there is nothing to censure in the Bank of England; it is its *private* connexion which is injurious alike to the bank and the public. Under the former head fall its management of the debt and other public accounts—the collection and safe keeping of the revenue, &c. These constitute a mere matter of agency, for which it receives compensation, which neither has influence on the currency, nor is in itself exorbitant, inasmuch as the bank takes upon itself all losses arising from accident and

\* By one of its published Reports, we learn the amount of bank transfers for the government to have amounted, in the year 1832, to sixteen millions one hundred thousand dollars.

fraud, which are sometimes very heavy. Thus, in 1803, it lost, through a single fraud, above three hundred thousand pounds; and at a later period, at least as much through the forgeries of the notorious Fauntleroy. The charge for services connected with the debt is at the rate of three hundred and forty pounds for every million under six hundred, and three hundred pounds for every million above; to which is to be added, ten thousand pounds per annum for the management of the public accounts, making, in the year 1831, the sum of one hundred and seventy-four thousand. From this, however, is to be deducted the sum of seventy thousand pounds, paid in lieu of the tax on bank notes; and by the renewed charter of August last, the further sum of one hundred and twenty thousand pounds, which brings the balance against the bank. All this, however, is a simple agency, in which the public has little interest, and the currency none. The *private* understanding which operates between them constitutes the evil. That such existed, the bank would fain have denied—and very unwittingly made the acknowledgment. The governor of the bank, on being asked—"Do you consider that the bank should be a commercial company independent of government?" boldly answered—"I do."—(*Palmer*, 551.) Mr. Ward, a very intelligent director, being pressed to say whether the bank "would not feel themselves bound to relieve the distress of government?" answered, warily, "The financial condition of government must always act upon the bank directly or indirectly."—(*Ward*, 2049.) But of that influence being most direct and at the same time most injurious, the proofs were but too plain. In December, 1794, it appeared that the Court of Directors represented to government their uneasiness at the amount of their advances, and prayed in vain for a reduction of them. In January, 1795, they resolved to limit their advances in treasury bills to half a million, and at the same time expressed their hope that the minister, Mr. Pitt, would adjust his measures for the year "in such manner as not to depend on any further assistance from them." On the 11th of February, 1796, they resolved as their opinion, that any further advance would prove fatal to the bank. But still, in spite of their better judgment, we find them continually giving way to what they delicately termed "the pressing solicitations" of the chancellor of the exchequer—yielding to borrowers, who, no doubt, were too strong to take denial.

The *manner* in which the bank makes advances to government is by the purchase of what are called exchequer bills. These are simply orders on the treasury, entitling the bearer to the sum specified thereon, together with interest, at a fixed rate *per diem*, until a period named for their payment, which is at the option of the government, but rarely exceeds twelve months from date. These bills are issued by the lords of the

treasury, under a vote of credit, which accompanies the parliament grant of supplies for the year; they go out in anticipation of the revenue, and are secured upon the receipt of the same, with a further provision that they shall be received in payment of taxes and all other government dues.

The *occasions* on which these are issued by the treasury are, 1. The ordinary case of deficiency in some expected source of revenue; these form what are termed "deficiency bills"—and constitute, as stated in evidence, "the usual applications." 2. When, from the state of the money market, or the discredit of government, exchequer bills fall to par, or near it. On such occasions, an instance of which occurred in August and September, 1825, when they fell to ninety, the government call upon the bank to go forward and become a purchaser of exchequer bills, already issued, taking them out of the market, and thus raising their price, that they may not be paid in as revenue, which, at par, they unquestionably would be, and thus cause a loss of revenue to an equivalent amount. 3. Upon any financial operation of the government, which requires the anticipation of funds. As an instance, we may take the one so grievously complained of, and known under the expressive appellation of "the dead weight,"—forming what Mr. A. Baring as appropriately termed "the choke" of the bank. This consisted in the assumption by the bank, in the year 1823, of the payment of all the naval and military provisions, superannuated allowances, &c., with which a war of twenty-five years had saddled the government; amounting, at the time of the bargain, to above five million pounds a year. These annuities, the bank, at the solicitation of government, undertook to pay, for an annuity of five hundred and fifty-eight thousand seven hundred and forty pounds, for forty-four years, the sum estimated to be advanced in five years being an amount rising thirteen millions of pounds. This bargain, it was stated in evidence, was "bad alike for the country and the bank;" but whether loss or gain followed such a financial operation, it was unquestionably ruinous to the reputation of the bank as a regulator of the currency.

The *effect* of such issues on the safety of the bank and the equilibrium of the currency is evident. "Was it not asking from the bank (inquired the committee in relation to the case of 1825) a measure inconsistent with its own security?" *Ans.* "It certainly was not a desirable measure."—(*Harman*, 2207.) But the bank or government must suffer, and in such an emergency there was but one choice. Upon the currency the effect is still less ambiguous. Every purchase of exchequer bills by the bank, whether from the government, or out of the stock market, leads to the emission of an equivalent amount of notes, most probably swelling the currency beyond the needs of commerce, and at any rate,



regulating it upon the most arbitrary of all rules, the demands of a necessitous government.

The *amount* of such issues from the treasury varies with the wants and the financial operations of the government. The greater part accumulates in the hands of the bank, and some years ago equalled its total circulation; but of late years they have been more cautious; in 1818 it amounted to the enormous sum of £26,000,000; last year it had fallen to a fraction under £7,000,000—but at all times they form what engineers would term “the governor” of the circulation, opening or shutting the sluices of supply. Now what similarity is there, we would ask, between these operations with government, and those of the Bank of the United States? So far as *control* is with us involved, it is the equitable control of a stockholder; the government being the holder of one-fifth of the stock was empowered by charter to appoint one-fifth of the direction. So far as *inspection* of its affairs is concerned, it is confined to its public accounts, and is no more than fairly belongs to so heavy a depositor; but so far as *money* is in question, it must come into the market like any other borrower, with neither right to demand from the bank nor likelihood to obtain from it any of those facilities which, in the history of the Bank of England, have so often proved injurious to the currency and destructive to the best interests of the country, by lessening the monied dependance of the government upon the representatives of the people. The Bank of the United States is responsible to the government only, as to any other depositor, and that is a responsibility of agency, not of subserviency. As their deposits is the only favour they can bestow, so the removal of them is their only power to harm. Since all acknowledge that in its agency the bank stands unblemished, its aids in the collecting and disbursing of the revenue, its fidelity in its safe-keeping, and its gratuitous services in its continued transfer, without loss, without delay, and without risk, are duties which could have been better, but certainly might have been worse performed. Instead therefore of charging upon the Bank of the United States the evils exhibited by that of England through too close a dependance, the quarrel lies probably on the other side, that its charter made it too independent. At any rate, we know (setting aside all later proofs) that the bill of 1815, containing precisely the same provisions with the present, was negatived by the then executive on that very ground, viz: that “the bank proposed will be free from all legal obligation to co-operate with the public measures;” and again, “the government ought to have a greater security for attaining the public objects of the institution, and particularly for every practicable accommodation, both in the temporary advances necessary to anticipate the taxes, and in those more durable loans,

which are equally necessary to diminish the resort to taxes.—*President's Veto, January 30th, 1815.*

3. *In its convenience to the mercantile public.*—The dealings of the Bank of England are not, generally speaking, with the merchant; the great business of commercial discounts is in the hands of the private bankers; these stand *middle men*, as it were, in the operation of lending; distributing in smaller amounts for *personal* security, those funds which the bank issues in mass upon government security; the bank, therefore, in ordinary times is not approachable by the man of business. This distance is maintained by the bank as a matter of principle, and that on two grounds: *first*, that their business lies in furnishing a circulating medium, not in lending it; and *second*, from regarding commercial discount as an unsafe basis of issue.

As this point may be new to some of our readers, we give the language in evidence. The governor of the bank was asked—"What do you consider as the principal function it is the part of the bank to perform?" *Ans.* "To furnish the paper money with which the public act around them, and to be a place of safe deposit for the public money, or for the money of individuals, who prefer a public body like the bank, to private bankers."—(*Palmer, 181.*) "The bank should be a bank of discount only in cases of emergency."—(177, 180.)—"The bank should not make their issues on commercial discount; but under circumstances of great pressure they may assist by discounting private paper."—(198.) It is due, however, to the bank to say, that this subsidiary aid they have on several occasions both liberally and opportunely given. The pressure of 1825, it appears in evidence, could not have been borne without it; on that occasion they came forward boldly and in the confidence of a favourable turn in the exchanges, notwithstanding the universal panic, and the low state of their treasure—"offered to lend to every body money on good security."—(*Rothschild, 4946.*) On one day (29th December, 1825) they discounted commercial paper to the amount of £15,000,000. But this is not their ordinary state: the whole amount under discount that day twelve month, was under £2,000,000; its average in 1830 was £919,000, and in 1831 but £1,533,600, being not over one-twelfth of its circulation alone, or one-sixteenth adding in the private deposits. How, then, stands the account between these two institutions, on the question of nearness and convenience to the merchant?

The Bank of England, with a capital of about \$80,000,000, and average deposits, public and private, to the average amount of \$40,000,000, discounts for the merchants, taking the average of the two last years given, to the amount of \$12,000,000; while the Bank of the United States, with less than half their capital, and

one-third of their deposits, discounts—taking the average of the same years—near \$40,000,000 of commercial paper, besides from \$10,000,000 to \$16,000,000 of inland bills of exchange.

4. *As a regulator of the currency.* The services of the Bank of England, in this particular, notwithstanding all its own errors, may be said to have been invaluable, inasmuch as it has controlled those issuers, who would have fallen into infinitely worse ones. That it has not always prevented ruinous fluctuations, and sometimes even caused them, must be acknowledged; but still in few countries of equal speculative enterprise (if any such except our own can be found) has it been on the whole better maintained? The causes of derangement in English currency may be reduced to three:—1. The over issues of the country banks, which, by the acknowledgment of the bankers themselves, were unregulated by any better rule than the demands of solvent borrowers; it was the demand for gold from this quarter, and not from abroad, which actually, in 1797, and almost again in 1825, caused a stoppage of the bank. 2. The compliance of the bank, however unwillingly, with the “pressing solicitations” of the government. Such issues are always injurious, as being, except by chance, unwanted, unless by the needy borrower who exacts them, nor can the bank, on such occasions, equalize the matter by cutting off the issues in some other quarter. Its commercial discounts are too small, and perhaps too necessary, for that operation, while the sale of any of its government securities would be withdrawing with the one hand the favour they were bestowing with the other. The currency therefore cannot choose but suffer. 3. The third cause is a charge upon the bank itself, viz. ignorance or disregard of the true rule by which issues should be regulated; until within a few years past, rule there seems to have been none. Some directors took the rate of interest as their guide, but this evidently is a false one. Others, and generally, the demand on the bank for bullion; but this as evidently is the very evil to be avoided—“*apres le fait, sage Breton,*”—such seems to have been the wisdom of the directors. The mischief has been done upon the currency before the call is made upon the bank. The true rule, and that which is now uniformly acted upon by them, is *the state of foreign exchanges*, or, in other words, the bullion market.

This truth was first opened to them in the report of the Bullion Committee, in 1810—which, together with the present one, may be said to be to the banker his Coke upon Littleton—but their eyes were closed and they fought against it; in 1819, however, they began to suspect themselves in error, “knew it” in 1827, and “reformed their plan,” entering a resolution to that effect upon their own minutes—since which time, they have not ceased to regard it as their true criterion. This is the acknowledgment of Mr. Ward, a very intelligent director, and it is one of those pleas-



ing proofs of the advance of science, which occasionally meet us to keep up our hopes that the world is growing wiser. "To have been a bullionist was, twenty years ago," observed one witness, "the most unpopular truth that ever was." "It was at first considered," says another, "a theoretic notion, but subsequently it was found by little and little, that the practice did agree with the theory."—(2079.) "I always endeavour," said one, who seemed to have mastered the subject, "to bring the paper as near as possible to what it would be if there was no bank, and the currency were all gold."—(*Ward*, 2080.) A striking instance of the safety of this rule has been already alluded to. During the height of the panic of 1825, and at a lower state of their treasure than that which frightened them into a stoppage in 1797, the bank proceeded to discount largely, with perfect safety to itself, and an infinite relief to the public. On reading this fact, it immediately reminded us of what we consider an analogous advancement in another squally trade, we mean the use of the barometer to the seaman, which, like the exchanges to the banker, gives prescience of the coming storm. We recommend from personal observation the use of both.

To those familiar only with the American system of banking, it may not be obvious how the amount of the circulating medium in London is regulated when so little goes out upon short paper. A few words will suffice to make this clear, and at the same time to show that discounts and issues, which with us form but one operation, have no necessary, and perhaps it might be added, no desirable connexion. It is done through the medium of the purchase or sale of exchequer bills, or other negotiable securities of the bank. To increase their issues, nothing more is necessary than to become a purchaser—to diminish them, a seller—cancelling, in the latter case, as they always do, the bank notes received in payment. Thus is the circulation silently yet efficiently controlled, and the effect felt at the counter of every private banker, who regulates his own business accordingly, guided solely in his discounts by that safest of all rules in banking—individual self-interest.

Now it is evident there can be no better system of issue and discount than this, provided the rule of enlargement and contraction be wisely chosen and honestly and firmly adhered to. If that safe rule be the demand for discounts, then indeed is the plan a bad one, since they who supply money are removed from all direct communication with those who want it; but if, on the other hand, that be not the rule, then is it wise that the issuers of money be removed at least one degree from the solicitations of borrowers? Now, that the call for discounts is not a safe guide, all bankers must acknowledge. The wants of the merchant are often greatest while those of the circulation are least, as is always the case in a falling market. A speculative state of trade would ruin

itself if indulged, and a depressed one may be raised by a judicious increase of money prices. This demands, no doubt, a nice judgment; but that will be approximated in proportion as the banker looks, not to the demand for discount, but to the price of bullion. The London mode of discount is also free from many practical annoyances of our system; it is there a matter of business and mutual profit, in which there is none of that fear or favouritism, or the suspicions of either, which have given to discounts with us the appropriate yet dangerous application of "bank favours." Now to alter established usage on this point is neither advocated nor expected by us; we only say we shall think well of the advancing knowledge of the principles of banking in our country, and argue well of its stability, in proportion as the functions of the banker and money-lender are discriminated in theory and separated in practice.

5. *Rules of business.*—With the distinctions already stated, the ordinary rules of business in the Bank of England are very similar to our own. The bank opens with individuals what are termed *drawing* and *discount* accounts: some have only the former, founded on actual deposits; the right of discounts, of course, involves both. No interest is allowed on deposits, but then no commission is charged on payments made or received. No account is permitted to be overdrawn, but on the contrary, a reasonable balance is expected to remain; nor is accommodation-paper discounted under any ordinary circumstances. In most of these particulars the country bankers pursue a different course. They keep an open debtor and creditor account with those with whom they deal; allow a low interest and charge a higher, and make a brokerage on all services rendered. The allowance of interest on deposits, it appeared in evidence, had been often tried in London, but the houses adopting it had invariably failed. The rate at which the bank discounts, varies with the market; though up to 1825 it had stood unchanged at five cent, which, except in time of war or pressure, was from one to one and a-half per cent above the market. In that year it was reduced to four, raised again to five in 1826, and in 1828 again fell to four, at which rate it now stands. One evil complained of by the bank was, its inability to charge over five, from the operation of the usury laws when the price was higher. This limitation of their rates flooded them on such occasions with private applications for discount, and forced upon them "the strange and painful necessity" of refusing even good paper.

The foregoing observations relate to the Bank of England, under the charter now expired. That it had its defects, all admitted, though the most intelligent witnesses had the least to say against it. The occasional ruinous fluctuations of the currency were variously explained. The public charged them upon the bank, the bank

upon the country bankers, the country bankers upon the bank again, or upon the ministry, and the ministry shifted the blame from their shoulders by charging it back again upon the public—attributing all the mischief to a wild spirit of speculation in trade: but amid these mutual recriminations, our great principle of a sound currency seemed admitted by all the most judicious, viz: the necessity of one preponderating bank of issue, regulating itself on fixed and sound principles, and controlling the paper of those who governed themselves but by the law of competition. This principle runs throughout; one bank of issue for the security of the currency; many banks of discount for the convenience of commerce. The authority of Mr. Tooke on the true principle of such a bank, is too valuable to be locked up in so unreadable and unattainable a volume as that from which we quote:—"It is the business of a bank that administers a paper currency, to have no other end in view than that of preserving its paper strictly, correctly, and invariably upon a level with the value of gold; and any assistance to trade or any assistance to government, involving an increase of issue not called for by the wants of the circulation, is a departure from the legitimate objects of the institution." Upon the subject of the Scotch banks, which have hitherto been regarded as a strong case of a safe currency, regulated by adverse institutions, much came up in evidence to dispel that illusion. Open competition, it appeared, was based upon secret combination; and their issues, instead of being self-regulated, were controlled by those of the Bank of England, and on more than one occasion their failing credit supported by gold from its vaults. Of the joint stock banks, then twenty-three in number, we are not led, by the Minutes of Evidence, to form any very favourable augury, and of the country banks, we are satisfied less evil might be said, if the principle were enforced, recommended by all intelligent men, of giving security to the amount of their issues.

*Renewed Charter of the Bank of England.*—This bears date 20th August 1833, and is for the period of ten years. The alterations made in it are highly important, though not altogether consistent: they bear the impress, it may be said, of the age in which we live, a compromise between conflicting interests. The most material ones are the following:

*Bank notes made a legal tender.*—A note of the Bank of England has now become a legal tender for the payment of debt everywhere but at the counter of the bank and its branches. The effect of this bold, and in our opinion, equally sound as bold measure, will be—1, to transfer the gold from the vault of the private issuer to that of the bank, supplying its place with Bank of England paper; 2, to relieve the bank "in toto" from all drain from that quarter, and consequently from one great cause of the derangement of the currency. The only fear may be, a diminution



of the total amount of gold in the country, but combined with the withdrawal of the small notes we think there will be no decrease; the increase of gold in circulation will more than equal the diminution in deposit.

*Joint stock banks legalized in London.*—These are banks of deposit and discount, not of issue; and the alteration which has evidently been introduced to gratify the bankers of the metropolis, will probably be found rather to injure than benefit their business: at any rate it has no bearing on the national currency.

*Publication of the affairs of the bank.*—Weekly accounts of bullion, notes in circulation, &c. are henceforward to be remitted to the chancellor of the exchequer, and monthly extracts of the same published. This is for the gratification of the public, though we doubt whether they will be much wiser, or the *bank* at all safer, for it.

*Branch bank notes payable only where issued.*—The bank has now fourteen branches, and will probably soon have more. Their establishment in 1826 was a measure yielded by the bank rather than desired; but by the recent increase in their business, and this new provision, they will probably be made more profitable than they have hitherto been. Under the *legal tender* clause this became also a necessary one as a guard for the safety of the bank, inasmuch as the vaults of the branches have now become the sole sources of supply of gold to the country.

*Notes relieved from the penalty of the usury laws.*—This important provision is a relief to all parties: it consists in leaving interest free on all notes, bills of exchange, &c. having not more than ninety days to run. This brings the practice of England into harmony with that of the continent, where the law is always found to distinguish between commercial paper and permanent securities; and we recommend the same to our state legislatures, in order that that may be legalized, which, whether legal or illegal, will be done, because it will be equitable and just, and the conscience of money lenders (if perchance they have any) freed from the penalty of a broken law.

One further provision has been added for the gratification of the mob. One-fourth of the capital of the bank (£14,686,000) is to be repaid by government; which will of course be a matter of juggle, for the government have it not to pay, and if they had, the bank would lend it back to their best customers the next day.

For this renewed charter the bank agree, as already noticed, to a reduction of £120,000 annually on the sum now paid for the management of the public funds.

The only great banking feature in this renewed charter, is the first named, and it goes strongly to the support of the financial position already laid down, viz: the necessity of one controlling source of issue. Turn we now to our own experience, and see how it bears on the same question.

Out of the forty-four years of our political existence, we have passed thirty-seven under the operation (whatever that may be) of a National Bank; of the remaining seven two preceded the existence of the first United States Bank, and five was an interval. Our course, too, has been, through many trying scenes, political, financial, and commercial; we have gone through one war, and sustained the burthen of two; and with the unfettered power assumed by the state governments to establish banks of issue, and the ignorance or fraud which must necessarily creep into the exercise of a power so irresponsible, and so widely diffused: by all these has the stability of our national currency been tried to the very utmost. Now we would ask, at what period has it been most sound, and at what period most degraded? We venture to assert, that an unprejudiced examiner, who will familiarize himself with the facts of our financial history, will arise from the study of it with these convictions:

1. That the sound condition of our currency is, and has ever been, intimately connected with a National Bank. The period which preceded such an establishment being marked by a discredited government paper, and a general stagnation of trade, and the interval which followed being one of universal disgrace—a bankrupt treasury, an almost universal suspension of specie payments, and a corresponding prostration of credit, both private and public.

2. That during the existence of a National Bank the currency has been soundest when the bank was strongest; not in its early years of weakness, when the prey of stock-jobbers and fraudulent speculators, nor yet in its closing ones of anticipated dissolution, when “the eagles were gathering to their prey,”—but in its mid-age and full strength, when its course was most vigorous and its operation on our menetary system most fully developed and full. This period we would take at a venture, under the old United States Bank, from 1798 to 1808, and in the present one from 1820 to 1830.

3. That a National Bank has been found essential to the safe operations of the treasury. Thrice in our history has government credit been restored by such an establishment. In 1781, in 1791, and in 1816. The first bank (Bank of North America) was acknowledged by high authority to have been of “immense utility in carrying us through our revolutionary struggle;” the second gave strength at once to an untried government, and on closing its accounts drew from the greatest living financier of our country, then at the head of the treasury, the well-merited eulogium that its affairs had been “skilfully and wisely managed;” while the establishment of the present one was preceded by an official declaration from the same department, but another head, that a “recurrence to the national authority was indispensable to the resto-

ration of a national currency.”—*Treasury, 7th Report, December 7th, 1815.*

If such would be the conclusions of a disinterested examiner, we adopt them as our own, and hold that in a National Bank, soundly constituted, wisely directed, and honestly managed, lies our only hope of a well-regulated currency. To be soundly constituted, such a bank should partake as much as possible of a commercial, and as little as possible of a financial character—its direction should be that of individual interest, and not of public policy: the secretary should use it, but not control it; from a federal charter it should derive its authority, from commercial funds its power and solidity—the first is necessary to give it extension, the second life and action; without the first its power might at any time be paralyzed by the caprice or jealousy of a state government, and without the control of the second it would be powerful only to evil.

To be wisely directed, but one rule of issue must be followed, viz. the state of the foreign exchanges; neither jealousy nor competition must have place in its councils, and what is harder, it must turn a deaf ear to the demand for discounts, when the bullion market shows the necessity of limitation. Its directors must therefore consider themselves as holding a public trust, affecting the interests of every man in the community: like judges they sit not to make law, but to administer it; and that law thus bound upon them, by no light penalty, is to maintain the value of their paper, and consequently the paper of all minor banks at a bullion par. And lastly, as to honest management, that may be safely left to the interest of the stockholders and the integrity of our merchants: at any rate, law can give no additional security; oaths and penalties and personal responsibilities serve but to drive honourable men out of the ranks of competition, and to put power into the hands of those to whom oaths and penalties are but the counters of frauds. Such are our views.

How far the present bank has fulfilled these requisitions we leave its advocates to maintain; how far its renewal with certain modifications would be preferable to a new creation, is not a question before us; nor yet what those modifications should be. On these points, both of its location and details, we have our own opinion, and although this be not the place to advance them, lest we prejudice a higher question, yet would we venture to recommend one novel provision—it is to make the branches strictly mere offices of discount and deposit, issuing notes payable and redeemable solely at the mother bank. The favourable operations of this, in our opinion, would be as follows:—1. To the bank, giving unity to its plan, simplicity to its details, and economy to all its operations; its risks would be diminished, and its treasure, by being concentrated, rendered doubly available. 2. The public again would be benefitted by the bank being strengthened, for the more avail-



able its funds, the greater its power of discount; the less its expenses, whether by cost of management or interest on dead capital, the cheaper will its services be rendered, and the lower the price of its bills. 3. The nation will be benefitted by a new bond of union being given to the states, as such a circulation would be founded upon the integrity of the union, and therefore promotive of it; the money of commerce would become a *unit*, having one heart and one centre, and unless we had again the old quarrel of the belly and its members, all would feel the more naturally dependant.

The only doubt that might be started, is, would such money circulate? would men take paper at a distance from the bank that was to redeem it? We think they would. For, in the first place, it would be the most desirable money of remittance. Supposing the mother bank located at the centre of commercial exchanges, such paper would always, and every where, generally speaking, be at a premium; for this purpose, therefore, it would certainly be preferred. Now this is no small amount; and, being in continual circuit, no small profit. The domestic bills of the bank, in 1831, amounted to more than sixteen million of dollars. Nor would this be all, though as a local circulation, it would at first necessarily be driven out by an inferior paper; yet would this operation cease by degrees, as the local paper was raised to a par value; an undoubted credit would then do the rest; the local banks would keep the requisite supply of silver, and beyond that, what the public want is not payment, but security. But for this speculation we have not time.

We have already said we advocate not renewal—let the wisdom of Congress decide that. Our argument is not for the stockholders; we neither know them, nor is our care for them—they have had what they bargained for; and however injurious all such changes may be for the country, it is their own fault if they are not ready, on the expiration of their charter, to close their concerns. Neither is our argument for the government or the treasury, or our concern for the public deposits. The executive and heads of department might be free for us to manage the public moneys well or ill; they hold a delegated power, for which they must render an account, perhaps to their country, certainly to their consciences. But in this contest of bank and government there is yet a third party, in whose name we speak, and whose voice, though least heard and last attended to, is, or ought to be, supreme. Our argument is for the country at large—for twelve millions of people—for every man, woman and child, from Maine to Georgia, who has aught to lose, and who will be the loser by any act of legislation which lessens their security for a sound and uniform currency. In their name, therefore, and on their behalf, we call upon those who stand on the floor of Congress,

as their delegated agents and trustees, not to allow their interests to be shuffled over in the warfare of party, or the contests of individual ambition. We call, too, upon the Executive to act in this matter as becomes a guardian, not merely of the public funds, but of the public safety; and if a National Bank be the key-stone, as it doubtless is, of our national currency, then not to allow the whole arch to be pulled down upon our heads by unskilful workmen, who see not its necessary connexion. Let not such a complicated question, we say, be decided on partial grounds. It may be that the revenues of government might be collected and disbursed without it—be it so—but, we ask, can the national currency be maintained in its purity without it? can the government, to any practical purpose, “regulate the coin” without it—which it is their constitutional duty to do? or control the amount of those bills of credit issued in the states, which, under the name of bank notes, have eluded and rendered nugatory one of the most important provisions of our national confederation? Altogether nugatory, we say, unless Congress shall continue to make provision by the preponderating circulation of a National Bank, to regulate, restrain and control them. And why all this sickly sensibility about control? If neither individuals nor states may coin, because that power is given to the general government, on what ground should either grumble, that the same government will not permit them to debase the coin? and if the states themselves have resigned all right of issuing bills of credit, on what plea of reason, or with what show of modesty can the claimants under those states stand up for their derivative right, as entitling them to an unlimited issue? We might rather ask, on what principle is it that a state proceeds to give what it does not itself possess, and interfere with the currency “*per alium*”—which, done “*per se*,” would be a violation of the constitution. Now this is a matter which requires to be fairly stated and fully understood. The emission of money is an act of the highest sovereignty; it was given up, therefore, unqualifiedly by the states to the general government, and their own hands for ever tied both, as it regards coin and paper. But, what is at present the money of our country, and who controls it? Because the conveniences of commerce have converted nine-tenths of it into paper, does that which has increased tenfold the necessity of regulation, take away the right to regulate? If the paper be a substitute for the coin, as all admit, it must come under the same regulation; and if it govern the value of the coin, as it unquestionably does, then it must itself be governed.

The object of the power given, was the preservation of the national currency, and short of that, Congress stops short of its duty; for what difference does it make to the holder of a silver dollar, whether that dollar be diminished five per cent in weight, or de-

preciated five per cent in value; to him the injury is the same, and yet the one no power under that of Congress could effect; the other may any day be inflicted upon him through the action of the banks; the one would be an act of felony, the other of unpunished fraud or folly. Now we charge not upon the state banks either fraud or folly. Our argument requires it not. Whether their operation be for good or evil is not the question either for us or Congress to examine. That body, we say, has no right to transfer to others, good or bad, a trust which the constitution committed to them; and we cannot but wonder under what interpretation of their duty, they can think of abandoning a concurrent field of legislation, where there can hardly be a doubt that the framers of the constitution thought they were giving them an exclusive one. As admirers of that constitution, therefore, we again call upon them to fulfil their trust, and in so doing avoid a risk which obviously is great, unquestionably is needless, and in our opinion can be incurred only by a dereliction of duty. Or is not that risk rather to be termed a certainty of evil? Can four hundred state banks rush into the arena of competition and the community be no sufferer? Each one now complains that it is checked by the Bank of the United States: each one, therefore, would go further, were that check removed; how far, no man can tell. Yet may we from experience form a probable conjecture. How was it in those years, from 1812 to 1816, when they were left to their own devices? they coined money till their money was worthless, until, to use the words of a truly great man (D. Webster), who laboured in vain to stem the torrent: "The moneyed transactions of private life came to a stand." And so would it be again, for it is in human nature. Competition is in all things a principle of excess, and not, as some vainly argue, of limitation; nor is there a single instance on record, of a national currency being wisely regulated by this rule. In proportion to numbers is the diminution of responsibility, and where the sense of responsibility is lessened it is evident the danger of abuse must be increased, whether the power held be political or financial. We do not hesitate, therefore, to conclude, unpopular as the sentiment may be, that for the preservation of a sound and uniform currency, there must be here, as in every country using paper money, one preponderating bank of issue, sufficiently powerful to give the law to others, while it is to itself a law by regulating its issues upon the state of foreign exchanges.

Nor is it alone from the existing four hundred banks of our country that these unregulated issues would come; as many more would quickly be added to them. If, under the domination, as they term it, of a National Bank, they have grown up from nothing to their present numbers—for in the year 1791 there were but two in the Union—what would be their growth under a more genial sun? Already we see the heaving of the pregnant earth, which



is to let forth to light this mushroom mammoth growth, which under state patronage is to supply the place of the spreading oak they are in such a hurry to cut down. Kentucky has already come forth with her projected bank of \$5,000,000, and five branches, and thirty years charter, and if this were not enough to give sample of the coming crop, we might tell our readers of others yet more gigantic, ripening, too, in the hands of those who have strength to bring them forth.

Now all this may be good news for the speculator, the stock-jobber and the shrewd politician—but what is it to the honest, the quiet, and the many? to the merchant, the manufacturer, the farmer, the mechanic and the labourer? what but threatened ruin, by deranging that currency, on which all they have or hope for is afloat? When once those waves of fluctuation have arisen, then all becomes a lottery, in which neither industry, nor prudence, nor economy, nor skill avail a man, and on which wages, profits and property rise and fall to the ruin of honest men, and the advancement only of the fraudulent.

Were this a mere question, therefore, of public deposits or government finances, though we might wonder, we would yet be silent and leave to politicians its discussion. We could be content to witness waste that had a limit, and folly that must shortly bring upon itself its own punishment; though still we would wonder that experience had done so little to make our rulers wise, and that its necessity in war and its convenience in peace, had not gone further to recommend to the government a bank of its own creation, in preference to those state institutions, of which it can know little, and over which it can have still less control. But where the decision involves, as it necessarily does, the fate of our national currency; when we see it to be a question of barrier or no barrier against a flood which threatens to desolate the land—we then esteem it a duty to speak out, and to maintain the pre-eminence value of a well constituted National Bank, to give worth and steadiness to the circulating medium of our country. Or is this a moment, we would ask, voluntarily to relax those bonds of union, which already sit upon us so lightly, and to set state against state, in local money as well as local interests? If our political union be worth preserving, then is a National Bank not lightly to be discarded; it was in that light it came recommended from the treasury itself, when presided over by no common mind; it will form among the states, said Mr. Gallatin, “an additional bond of common interest and union;” and so it doubtless will. A common money is no small bond of peace: it is a golden bond which men love not to break. “Whose image and superscription is this?” is a searching question to remind men of their fealty. Let all then who prefer peace to discord, union to separation, the success of honesty to that of fraud, and a well-ordered currency to continual

fluctuations—recognizing in this measure of a National Bank their own individual safety, as well as the common welfare—unite heart and hand, and laying aside all party distinctions and local interests, with one voice call upon Congress to protect alike the North and the South, the East and the West, against the fraud or folly, the ambition or caprice of any who would seek to do an injury to our common currency.

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ART. X.—*Men and Manners in America.* By the AUTHOR OF CYRIL THORNTON, &c. &c. 8vo. pp. 410. Carey, Lea & Blanchard. Philadelphia, 1833.

MODERN British travellers often travel more than they read. Every man who attempts, as Captain Hall and Major Hamilton have attempted, to depict the character of a country so diversified as the United States, should make himself acquainted with what others have written upon the same subject, not for the purpose of imitation, but that he may compare or contrast the respective views of those who have preceded him, and thereby render his own delineation more true to nature, by avoiding the false colouring of inferior if not contemptible artists. In other words, he should examine the chart by which others may have steered, which, if it should not instruct him in his voyage, at least may contribute to guard him from the rocks and shoals upon which less prudent navigators may have split. Indeed, it is only in this way that we can expect any thing like a well-ordered history from those who travel like the wind through an extensive country, for the most part neither making nor receiving any impression. Many men are fitted for travellers who are not qualified to be historians; and we may be permitted to observe, without any disposition to unkindness, that of all men in the world, the English, from the specimens afforded, are the least competent to give an impartial and liberal account of this country; and that although they may preach themselves into a belief of great Christian charity and good fellowship, cloven-footed hatred, or overweening and arrogant assumption of superiority, will ever appear, in despite of every effort at concealment. A half informed, or what is worse, a misinformed cockney, to use the favourite words of Major Hamilton, is the perfect *impersonation* of stupidity and pride. And we shall satisfy this Major before we have done with him, or should that be hopeless, satisfy all the world besides, that whatever may be the superiority of his Cyril Thornton in literary claim over his present work, it does not possess half its fiction or fancy, nor is it comparable as a romance. The reason that an Englishman finds

it almost impossible to describe with fairness the character of this country, is, that he is forever instituting unfavourable comparisons with his own, which, for all the purposes of justice, is like erecting himself into the true standard of mankind, and condemning or approving his fellow creatures in proportion as they recede from or approach this assumed perfection. Taking *England* for the only criterion, and permitting an *Englishman* alone to sit in judgment, with all his predilection and prejudices about him, and *who* shall escape whipping! But *our* condition would prove peculiarly obnoxious; in so many respects are the two countries associated,—if, in all humility, we may claim *that honour*,—in so many are they brought into collision, if we may advert to it without a convulsive shuddering of our nature; in so many—Heaven save the mark!—are former feuds suggested, that most of the British subjects, loyal as they at all times are, naturally conceive, that whatever they allow to us they take from themselves, and of course are solaced for the ungrateful scantiness of their bounty by the narrow but wholesome maxim “that charity begins at home.” If that were all, we should still have but little cause of complaint; but judging from the sample of tourists that the mother country has recently furnished, it may readily be shown, that this sublime virtue *ends* exactly where it *begins*.

A nation that has for centuries supported the first place among her sisters of the earth, will not easily brook even the approach to rivalry, and, least of all, on the part of one that has occupied the relation of a foe or dependant—such, alas! is human nature. The same spirit, upon an individual scale, is daily exhibited in society. The man who raises himself by merit, by the force of his own unassisted genius, to power and station among his fellow men, has every inch of ground contested, inasmuch as those who imagined themselves his superiors, do not simply contemplate his elevation, but their own degradation, “since one step higher may set him highest;” and thus their *caste* is wrested from them, or its honours diminished by increased participation. To say, however, that this is so, is by no means to excuse it in any one, much less in those who are said to enjoy the nobler mind’s distinguishing perfection, a legitimate supremacy.

It is worthy of observation, that although we should suppose, upon first impressions, that no portions of the world would be more dissimilar in their tastes than France or Germany and “our native land,” yet the fact is, that there is a much better understanding between either of these countries and our own, if we may judge from the spirit manifested in the works of their travellers, than we have yet been able to secure with the “fast anchored isle.” Dr. Johnson, in one of his admirable essays upon married life, contends for dissimilarity of taste, as best calculated to produce mutual happiness, and it would seem that the national results referred to, may be ascribed to the same principle.



We speak "rather in sorrow than in anger," when we are compelled to say, that with all the valuable qualities of our brethren (pardon this boldness) on the other side of the water—and we accord to them many—there is much to be reprehended in the egotistical, gasconading, self-appropriating spirit by which most of their travellers are characterised. We do not desire to make this a matter of national reproach. Britain would only seem to resemble in that particular some of those countries famous for their vintage; but which, having established their character, and being content to rely upon that merely, are said to export their worst wines to foreign markets, while they reserve the best for home consumption. The travellers whom we have been constrained to *stomach* must have been unpalatable members of their own community, and in the true Christian spirit we should endeavour to bear with them, for if they are restless, and turbulent, and discontented with us, they have at least left a quiet house at home, and their *friends*, no doubt, rejoice in their absence.

Liberal and well informed Englishmen, like the liberal and learned every where, distrust their own opinions where there is room, if not reason, to suspect prejudice, and remain silent while they suppose it is possible at least, that from the difference between their country and the rest of the world, it does not always inevitably follow that the majority of the world is wrong.

We know but little of the history of these tourists; as little, almost, as they appear to know of ours; but we might venture at least to say, that an obscure itinerant female vender of parcels, vulgarly called a pedlar, or a rude and boisterous captain of the sea, or even a major, who always seems to prefer "the thrice driven *bed of down* to the flinty and steel couch of war," we may venture, we repeat it, to say, that such personages, even in the combination of their merits, would supply but slender and paltry materials towards a judicious and enlightened report. The idea of their being able to do justice to the courtesies, men, manners and laws of this, or any other cultivated or civilized country, is preposterous. Yet, wonderful to relate! they consider themselves perfect travelling standards; and whatever, therefore, is above or below, or within or beyond their inflated or narrow dimensions, is, of course, just so far out of proportion; and, consequently, wrong. But the worst of all this is, that they—supposing them even to be the "glass of fashion and the mould of form,"—are not impartial in the measurement or selection of their objects, but pounce eagerly upon such as they suppose will furnish the highest and best relief to their own magnificent arrogance.

Instead of taking broad, philosophical and political views of the country, its men and measures, its government and laws, we find them at one moment criticising the grammar of some poor children in a charity or public school, though in many respects superior to that of their own laboured composition, and in the next,

extracting a stupid debate from some party newspaper; and in numerous instances expatiating upon the severities of hunger, the annoyance of too much gravy, the delights of good eating; or relating a ridiculous quarrel with a stage-driver, for no other reason than that the coachman got mutton, while the distinguished stranger was compelled to put up with ham and eggs. We should suppose that such fare was at least equal to the wretched dish of spinnage to which their readers have from time to time been condemned. After this farrago, we may be permitted to assert, that if men were to be selected to eat their way through the land, Captain Hall and Major Hamilton should be the men, and Mrs. Trollope should be their suttler, or their caterer; but as to travelling, except for an appetite, and as to writing their travels, except through "beef stakes, mutton cutlets, snow white rolls, regiments of hot toast, and oceans of tea and coffee,"—after what we have witnessed, and the accounts they have given of themselves, it is certainly not within the range of reasonable probability. In short, it would seem perfectly evident from their works, if there were not strong assurance to the contrary, that instead of eating that they might write, by sheer necessity they were doomed to write that they might eat—"A salmon's belly, Helluo, was their fate."

Any sensible man must be truly astonished, after the flourish of trumpets by which these volumes are from time to time preceded, to see such mawkish and mongrel trash as that by which the body of the performance is characterized. We never find one of these accomplished gentlemen without a ruffle it is true, but upon examination it not unfrequently happens that he is destitute of the very valuable modern improvement of a shirt. For example, only hear what the Major says in his dedication in excuse for his having ventured to publish the result of his nine months peregrination.

"When I found the institutions and experience of the United States deliberately quoted in the *reformed parliament*, as affording safe precedents for British legislation, and learned that the *drivellers* who uttered such nonsense, instead of encountering merited derision, were listened to with patience and approbation *by men as ignorant as themselves*, I certainly did feel that another work on America was yet wanted, and at once determined to undertake a task, which inferior considerations would probably have induced me to decline."

In plain English, it was reserved for the Major to plunge, like Curtius, into the yawning gulf; to stand between England and the contagion of our example, and solemnly to call heaven and earth to witness, "if Rome must fall, that he was innocent;" unparalleled modesty, most devoted patriotism!

Is it possible that the United States should have attained so high an eminence as to be looked up to as an example by the law-givers of Europe? "Our institutions and experience *deliberately quoted in the reformed parliament*," runs it not so? "as a safe

precedent for British legislation." Insupportable honour! There is, however, a slight drawback in the clause that succeeds, though, thank Heaven, it is not quite intelligible. "When I learned that the *drivellers* who uttered such nonsense were listened to with patience and approbation by *men as ignorant as themselves*,"—quite natural assuredly, and we cannot possibly perceive the ground of the learned Major's apparent surprise. If *drivellers* uttered such nonsense, that they should be listened to by *drivellers*, and men as ignorant as themselves, is by no means extraordinary; if they had met the approbation of the elite, of such men as the *major*, for instance, that would indeed have been something *wonderful*! But there is also an idea conveyed by this portion of the dedication which we cannot believe, after having read the body of the work, and that is, that there should be so many *drivellers* and so much folly in so august and distinguished an assembly as the reformed parliament. We simple republicans, it is true, have been taught to believe that with many of great and overbearing talents who figure in both Houses of Parliament, there was also a pretty plentiful admixture of folly and corruption. That, although there were some who were "wits among lords, there were others who were mere lords among wits," and that while in the ceremonies and externals of legislation, they presented a much more imposing spectacle than we can aspire to, nevertheless for the plain, straight forward business purposes of life, upon our limited scale, we were not altogether contemptible when placed beside those "who are a little more than kin, and less than kind." In all of which, however, it appears we have been most egregiously misled and deceived.

It strikes us, however, that the Major's horrors at innovation, and our pernicious example, have carried him too far, and have blinded him to the true character of these authors of reform. Lord Brougham, the chancellor of Great Britain, the observed of all observers, is hardly to be rated as a *driveller* or a fool. Yet if *we* mistake not, he was the origin and main support of all this evil. He it was who strenuously urged upon Parliament the adoption of those alterations in the laws of which the major complains. Sixty distinct improvements were suggested by him in his famous speech upon the Reform of Laws—*forty-five* of which had been in full operation for nearly as many years in the United States. As his lordship, however, did not appear to be acquainted with that circumstance, of course there was no harm in the experiment; but the moment the originality is found to be with us, that moment the adoption of the measures is repudiated, and their advocates assailed by charges of stupidity and folly. The Major knows but little of these matters, however, and we will invite his attention to the sensible advice of Junius to Dr. Johnson, when the latter attempted to enter into political discussion: "Stick to literature,



Doctor, there you may be unrivalled; let laws and politics alone, you know nothing about them."

Let us pause no longer in following the process of these travels, but passing over the anxious period of gestation, and coming at once to the accouchement, examine and pronounce upon the sickly, deformed and misbegotten offspring as it deserves. The Major, as it appears, arrived at New York on the 18th of November 1831, after a voyage, to the horrors of which he thus pathetically adverts:

"The miseries of a landsman on board a ship have afforded frequent matter for a pen and pencil; at *best* a sea voyage is a confinement at once irksome and odious, in which the unfortunate prisoner is compelled for weeks or months to breathe the tainted atmosphere of a close and crowded cabin, and to sleep at night in a sort of box about the size of a coffin, for the 'stout gentleman.' At *worst* it involves a complication of the most nauseous evils that can afflict humanity,—an utter prostration of power both bodily and mental—a revulsion of the whole corporeal machinery, accompanied by a host of detestable diagnostics, which at once convert a well-dressed, and well-favoured gentleman into an object of contempt to himself, and disquiet to those around him."

Here is a diatribe or lamentation worthy of Beau Brummel himself, all originating from a voyage across the Atlantic, in one of the best packet ships that float on the ocean, in which nothing had been neglected which could possibly contribute to the comfort of the passengers. And really, when we reflect upon the spleen of the gallant Major, we cannot help thinking that it would have been much more consistently displayed by another individual on board, whom he describes "as a retired hair-dresser from Birmingham, innocent of all knowledge unconnected with the wig block."

At length, through many toils and perils, our traveller arrives at New York, upon the first aspect of which he suddenly falls into the following sober reflection, which we introduce, inasmuch as it denotes a sort of foregone conclusion; in other words, a predetermination to be displeased with every thing, or what is the same, an unfitness to be pleased with any thing:

"In visiting a foreign city, a traveller, especially an English one, usually expects to find, in the aspect of the place and its inhabitants, some tincture of the barbaric. There is something of this, though not a great deal, at New York. The appearance of the population, though not English, is undoubtedly nearer to it than that of any city on the continent of Europe; and but for the number of *blacks* and people of *colour* one encounters in the streets, there is certainly little to remind a traveller that the breadth of an ocean divides him from Great Britain.

"The fashions of dress generally adopted by the wealthier classes are those of Paris and London, and the tastes and habits of the people, so far as these appear on the surface, bear a strong resemblance to those of his countrymen. Minute differences, however, are no doubt apparent, at the first glance. The aspect and bearing of the citizens of New York are certainly very distinguishable from any thing ever seen in Great Britain. They are generally slender in person, somewhat slouching in gait, and without that openness of countenance and erectness of deportment to which an English eye has been accustomed. Their utterance, too, is marked by a peculiar modulation, parta-

king of a snivel and a drawl, which, I confess, to my ear is by no means laudable on the score of euphony."

To these first impressions, as they are a fair earnest of the subsequent parts of the book, we have something to say: our travellers, as will be readily perceived, and as was intimated in our introductory remarks, takes England for the indisputable standard of all that is civilized, refined and elegant, and he scarcely sets his foot ashore, before he expects to find "*something barbaric in the place and its inhabitants!*"—Here is impartiality! Such is the historian that is to present to the world unprejudiced views of the condition of that country in which he remained scarcely nine months; and through the extensive territory of which he could scarcely have travelled in that period, unless mounted upon the couriers of the air. The pinions of his prejudices are, however, swift enough for all his purposes, and in less than an hour after his arrival, he damns the city and the inhabitants of New York, ladies and all, to an eternal fame. The aspect and bearing of the citizens, forsooth, are certainly very distinguishable from any thing ever seen in Great Britain—and what does he infer from this? Why, to be sure, that we are just so far wrong as we depart from English perfection. Admirable impartiality, unparalleled modesty! If we may venture a passing remark, the difference between us, as we apprehend, in point of bearing, is exactly this—that we are usually *forbearing*, and they are usually *overbearing*; and no other evidence is required of either than the spirit in which travels of this character are commonly written and commonly received. But let us proceed with the Major.

The charges, we perceive, are distinctly these: The New Yorkers are, 1. Generally slender; 2. Slouching in gait; 3. Without the English openness of countenance and erectness of deportment; 4. Their utterance partakes of a snivel and a drawl—which is not euphonious to the gallant Major's ear. These specifications are all framed under the broad and sweeping charge of deficiency in *bearing*.

The attorney-general could not have prepared *four* such indictments for violation of decorum and good taste, in twice the time within which the Major has preferred the accusation, and tried, convicted, and sentenced the offenders; namely, the inhabitants of our sister city of New York. We object, however, to the judge, propter defectum, propter affectum, propter delictum, and propter honoris respectum, which are said by Sir Edward Coke to be the four principal grounds of challenge, and irregular as it is in criminal cases, we pray a writ of error to his judgment, or at all events, demur to his several charges. We cannot translate New York to London for the purpose of submitting to the fashionable and established tests, but perhaps it might answer as well to take the Major, the expectancy and rose of that fair state, as an *impersona-*

tions of its perfections, and to adjust the relative merits of the respective countries by this severe standard of human excellence. As to our countrymen being slender in the general, heaven forbid that we should deny that; the Major himself is not fat, though we should suppose a huge feeder, a second Justice Greedy, from his eternal devotion to the enjoyments of the table. Besides, we are upon that subject disciples of Shakspeare, in the doctrine that fat paunches make lean pates, and we concede, therefore, to our friends on the other side of the water, without a struggle, the advantages of both of these qualifications. But as to the slouching gait—has the reader ever seen the Major, like a wounded snake, dragging his slow length along, and literally pulling one foot after the other, as if they shunned all mutuality, companionship, or acquaintance. We are certainly no slouches in walking, unless our accuser himself plead guilty—nor are we *if* he should. The opposite charge of a prim, precise, or mincing step, would be generally much more applicable to American walkers; but our business here is defence, not the suggestion of new charges. Indeed, in another portion of this very work—so great are its inconsistencies—while speaking of the carriage of the New York ladies, who, be it remembered, were embraced in the preceding philippic, he pronounces it to be neither French nor English, for, says he, “they have the good sense to adopt the peculiarities of neither; they certainly do not paddle along with the short steps and affected carriage of a Parisian belle, nor do they consider it becoming to walk the streets with the stride of a grenadier. In short, though I may have occasionally encountered more grace than has met my observation since my arrival in the United States, assuredly I have never seen less external deportment which the most rigid critic could fairly censure.” How are these contradictions to be reconciled? Only by remembering that the former was an *impartial* opinion, expressed or adopted before he reached our soil, and the latter the result of subsequent notice and experience.

But we are also, it is said, without the English openness of countenance. Thank heaven for that also, as we understand it, though *prima facie* the Major does not support his country's pretensions any better in this than in the other particulars. Our *gentlemen* are not bibbers of ale, or beef-eaters, or rioters in flesh; and our ladies,—but let us not say a word for the American ladies, they require no defence—and we should be ashamed to assail the beautiful daughters of Great Britain upon so slender a basis as outraged hospitality supplies.

Passing from this we next encounter the objection to our custom-house practice of requiring an oath that the specifications given of the contents of boxes and baggage are true, and then proceeding to complete the search of them; in regard to this, it is not necessary that much should be said. If the object be to prevent



a fraud upon the laws and revenue of the country, and with reference to that object the course complained of is adopted, we see no impropriety in doing thoroughly what is thought necessary to *be done*, and in making *assurance double sure*, by superadding inspection to the moral obligation. Either, in itself, might prove an insufficient guard, for even both often prove utterly fruitless. But as the strictness of the scrutiny is very much regulated by the character of the individual by whom the oath is made, and as in some instances it is merely nominal, few have any reason to complain, except those who are legitimate objects of suspicion. We cannot conceive of that "lively sense of personal indignity" to which the Major refers in the necessary submission to a wholesome law, operating alike upon all men, and reciprocally acknowledged by all nations. The opprobrium does not consist in the search, but in the guilt which is detected. And the objection more frequently arises from the actual desire of illicit gain, than from a consciousness of violated honour. Custom-house officers, we suppose, are pretty much the same the world over: at all events England, on that subject, should not throw the first stone. For although there may be more "national solemnity" in her custom-house operations, and *her* ministers may be distinguished by outward symbols of executive authority, yet it is difficult to regard a custom-house searcher as a visible *impersonation* of the majesty of the law, and the magnificence of the robes of the priest, or functionary, is no subject of congratulation or rejoicing to the unhappy victims whose groans and sufferings must be proportioned to the splendour of the sacrificial ceremony. In other words—those very ceremonies for which the Major is so great a stickler, are too frequently at once the cause and consequence of extravagant and unjust exactions; and although the oath of the *searchee* may thus often be saved by a satisfactory *douceur*, the oath of the *searcher* is forgotten or despised, and the laws intended for the protection of the many, are shamefully prostituted to the cupidity and avarice of the few. They talk of reform in England; they affect to despise the benefits *afforded* by our example; they are too old to learn, too proud to submit; we therefore feel privileged to say to them in reply—correct your own abuses, ere you commence a crusade against those of your neighbours; and add to the weight and sincerity of your admonitions the voucher of your *practice*.

We pass over the affected amusement of the Major with the remnants of election placards, observed in New York, such as "Jackson forever, and go the whole hog." For classical beauty and delicacy of sentiment, they will at least bear a comparison with the billingsgate of the English hustings, or the slang of the fancy and the ring. These, however, enter but little into the national character, and should, therefore, scarcely be considered as subjects of national reproach. Our political struggles, like those of other countries, are not regulated by the most

punctilious and refined etiquette; but they are nevertheless generally harmless, if not meritorious, and they, at least, never result in chairing one set of candidates, and literally stoning and kicking another off the field.

But let us for a time leave the theatre of political contest, and accompany the Major into more quiet and domestic scenes. If he is displeased with us in public and political, may we venture to hope he will think better of us in social and private life? The morning after his arrival at New York, having nearly completed his toilet, as might naturally be expected, the bell gave intimation that the hour of breakfast was come. But let him speak for himself:—

“I had nearly completed my toilet, on the morning after my arrival, when the tinkling of a large bell gave intimation that the hour of breakfast was come. I accordingly descended as speedily as possible to the *salle à manger*, and found a considerable party engaged in doing justice to a meal, which at first glance one could scarcely have guessed to be a breakfast. Solid viands of all descriptions loaded the table, while in the occasional intervals were distributed dishes of rolls, toast, and cakes of buckwheat and Indian corn. At the head of the table sat the landlady, who, with an air of complacent dignity, was busied in the distribution of tea and coffee. A large bevy of negroes was bustling about, ministering with all possible alacrity to the many wants which were somewhat vociferously obtruded on their attention. Towards the upper end of the table I observed about a dozen ladies, but by far the larger portion of the company were of the other sex.

“The contrast of the whole scene with that of an English breakfast-table was striking enough; here was no loitering or lounging; no dipping into newspapers; no apparent lassitude of appetite; no intervals of repose in mastication; but all was hurry, bustle, clamour and voracity, and the business of repletion went forward with a rapidity altogether unexampled. The strenuous efforts of the company were, of course, soon rewarded with success. Departures, which had begun even before I took my place at the table, became every instant more numerous, and in a few minutes the apartment had become, what Moore beautifully describes in one of his songs, ‘a banquet hall deserted.’ The appearance of the table, under such circumstances, was by no means gracious either to the eye or the fancy. It was strewn thickly with the *disjecta membra* of the entertainment: here lay fragments of fish, somewhat unpleasantly odoriferous; there the skeleton of a chicken; on the right, a mustard-pot, upset, and the cloth defiled with stains of eggs, coffee, gravy—but I will not go on with the picture. One nasty custom, however, I must notice. Eggs, instead of being eat from the shell, are poured into a wine-glass, and after being duly and disgustingly churned up with butter and condiment, the mixture, according to its degree of fluidity, is forthwith either spooned into the mouth, or drunk off like a liquid. The advantage gained by this unpleasant process, I do not profess to be qualified to appreciate, but I can speak from experience to its sedative effect on the appetite of an unpractised beholder.”

Now there is no doubt much truth, although highly coloured, in this description of the *salle à manger* of an extensive boarding-house. The chief objection, however, of the traveller seems to be, that the *eating commenced* before *he* commenced, and generally ended before *he* finished. The other exceptions taken by him, seem to us all to be attributable to his not drawing a proper distinction between a public and a private house; between men of business and

men of leisure; between voluntary rudeness and that which loses that character, from the fact that it is the result of imperative circumstances. There ever must be a vast difference between the habits of those who are at a loss for employment, and those who are at a loss for time in which to fulfil the duties of the day. An establishment like that of the Bunker's in New York, is generally frequented by gentlemen who are engaged in active life, or who are condemned, in their travels, to observe steamboat punctuality. "There can, therefore, be no loitering nor lounging—no dipping into newspapers, or apparent lassitude of appetite." There can be no waiting for petit maitres or travelling gentlemen of the ton, who may think proper to occupy the weary hours in the arrangement of a cravat, or the adjustment of a lappel, and who consider it the chief manifestation of dignity, instead of courteously conforming to the custom of the country, of which they are uninvited and unworthy guests, to throw every thing into disorder and confusion, by insisting that general convenience and advantage should give place to individual caprice.

In addition to what has been said, it will neither be irrelevant nor improper to introduce here a few remarks of Baron D'Haussez, an intelligent and distinguished French traveller, who has recently published a work upon Great Britain, which would seem clearly to imply that the English have much to learn at home, before they will be qualified to deliver lectures on gastronomy abroad.

"To enjoy one's self at table, remarks the baron, is in France an axiom of good sense and good company. In England, on the contrary, to eat to live, seems to be the sole object; there the refinements of cookery are unknown. It is not, in a word, a science; neither does the succession in which dishes should be served up appear to be studied. To cover a table with immense pieces, boiled or roasted, and to demolish them in the confusion in which chance has placed them, appears to be the whole gastronomic science of the country. The most ordinary seasoning of the English *cuisine* is a profusion of spices, unsparingly thrown into the sauces. To correct the effect of this, recourse is had to the insipid simplicity of plain boiled vegetables, which continually circulate round the table, and with which the host would fain load the guest's plate. The meat is either boiled or roasted; the fish is always boiled, and is served invariably with melted butter. The numerous transformations which the natives of the deep undergo before appearing on a French table are altogether unknown in England. Eggs are excluded from English dinner tables, and even when produced at other meals, they are served in the shell, for the talent of making an omelette enters not into the education of an English cook. English fowls are of an indifferent quality, and game is subjected to a process of roasting which deprives it of all its flavour. The confectionary is badly made and without variety. The vegetables, condemned only to figure as correctives of a too exciting *cuisine*, do not appear upon the table. The *entremets* are limited to a very scanty supply of creams and insipid jellies.

"The following is the order in which an English dinner is served: the first course comprises two soups of different kinds; one highly peppery, in which float morsels of meat; the other a soup *à la Française*. They are placed at either extremity of the table, and helped by the master and mistress of the house. They are succeeded by a dish of fish, and by roast beef, of



which the toughest part is served round. When there is no *plateau*, a *sallad* occupies the middle of the table. This course being removed, regular *entrées* are brought in, and the servants hand round dishes with divisions, containing vegetables. The course which follows is equivalent to the second course in France; but prepared without taste, and is served confusedly. Each guest attacks, without offering to his neighbour, the dish before him."

Withdrawing from domestic scenes, the Major next introduces us to the halls of criminal justice, the Quarter Sessions of New York, which he thus speaks of:

"It is scarcely possible to conceive the administration of justice invested with fewer forms. Judges and barristers were both wigless and gownless, and dressed in garments of such colour and fashion as the taste of the individual might dictate. There was no mace, nor external symbol of authority of any sort, except the staves which I observed in the hands of a few constables, or officers of the court.

"The witnesses I thought gave their evidence with a greater appearance of phlegm and indifference than is usual in our courts at home. No one seemed to think that any peculiar decorum of deportment was demanded by the solemnity of the court. The first witness examined, held the Bible in one hand, while he kept the other in his breeches pocket, and in giving his evidence, stood lounging with his arms thrown over the bench. The judges were men about fifty, with nothing remarkable in the mode of discharging their duty."

In the Supreme Court, he observes :—

"It was not without astonishment, I confess, that I remarked that three-fourths of the jurymen were engaged in eating bread and cheese, and that the foreman actually announced the verdict with his mouth full, ejecting the disjointed syllables during the intervals of mastication."

Part of the above statement *may* be true; and probably is so; but that portion of it which relates to the jurymen rendering their verdict, will hardly be credited by those who are least favourably disposed towards our courts of justice. The Supreme Court, strictly so called, tries no jury cases. Although cases of this description are tried before the several judges of that court, sitting as courts of *nisi prius*. The title of the court, we presume, therefore, was introduced, in order to afford some notions of what subordinate tribunals must be, when the highest in the state is thus degraded and disgraced. "Three-fourths of the jury divided between bread and cheese and their verdicts!" It is too glaringly untrue to require refutation, and operates merely to show, that it would be much safer to rely upon the steadfastness of the wind or the waves, than the fidelity of such an historian.

We admit that the judges were *wigless*, and we are content that they are conceded not to be *brainless*. We admit also that they were dressed in garments of such colour and fashion as individual taste selected: but if the mind be the standard of the man, as we are taught to believe, it is not very easy to understand what either his wig or his gown has to do with the exercise of his judgment. A gown may be a very excellent disguise for a cloven foot, or a wig for a bald and senseless pate; sterling worth never requires, but on the contrary, disdains all such adventitious aids: certain it is

the world is deceived by ornament, and that deception never should be countenanced, much less commended and encouraged, in a stern judicial tribunal, professing, at least, to be founded on the equal rights of all mankind, and to regard no distinctions but those between right and wrong—between virtue and vice. As we shall notice this subject, however, hereafter, we at present dismiss it, with this single remark, that although simplicity may sometimes render talents less imposing, it at all events imparts no aid, and affords no concealment to folly, or to crime.

After the description of the celebration of the 25th of November, to which the traveller next adverts, and the ridicule cast upon the parade, particularly of the militia, we are at length brought to the oration by Mr. Gouverneur. This oration is stigmatized as “a mere trumpery tissue of florid claptrap, which somewhat lowered his opinion with regard to the general standard of taste and intelligence of the American people. He was at length introduced to Mr. Monroe, Mr. Livingston, Mr. Gallatin, Mr. Jay and others of high accomplishments. With appropriate notice of the others, of Mr. Gallatin he thus speaks:

“His name was one with which I had been long familiar. Born in Switzerland, he became a citizen of the United States soon after the revolution, and found there a field in which it was not probable that talents like his would remain long without high and profitable employment. I believe it was in the cabinet of Mr. Jefferson that Mr. Gallatin commenced his career as a statesman; since then, much of his life has been passed either in high offices at home, or as minister to some of the European courts; and the circumstance of his foreign birth rendering him ineligible to the office of president, this veteran statesman and diplomatist, wisely judging that there should be ‘some space between the cabinet and grave,’ has retired from political life, and finds exercise for his yet unbroken energies in the calmer pursuits of literature.”

We confess the Major tells us news. Mr. Gallatin not eligible to the presidency, from his foreign birth! Although Mr. Gallatin arrived here after the declaration of independence, he became a citizen before the 17th of September in the year 1787, at which time the Constitution of the United States was adopted, by the fifth section of the second article of which it is provided that “no person, except a natural born citizen, or a citizen of the United States *at the time of the adoption of the Constitution*, shall be eligible to the office of president; neither shall any person be eligible to that office, who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.”

Has the Major ever read the constitution? It is hardly credible after the assertion, that foreign birth alone is sufficient to incapacitate Mr. Gallatin or any other individual for the high destiny of President of the United States; and yet this distinguished traveller would affect to be as familiar with our constitutional provisions as with household words.

From the sample that has been frequently afforded by the contemporary travellers of the Major, it ceases to be wonderful that such glaring errors as these should be paraded in almost every page of this work; but certainly such ignorance is inexcusable in an individual who speaks with so magisterial a voice, and whose business is avowed to be, to avert the destruction of his own country, by preventing the injudicious adoption of those laws existing amongst us, which *drivellers* alone would recommend.

Having been some weeks in the city of New York, the Major informs us that he at length feels himself qualified to offer some observations on the state of society in that city; and after expatiating for some time upon the scantiness of furniture, the difficulty of obtaining servants in the United States, and their worthlessness when procured, he gives us the following valuable piece of information:

"Here" speaking of the fashionable houses of New York, "are no buhl tables, nor *or-molu* clocks, nor gigantic mirrors, nor cabinets of Japan, nor drapery of silk or velvet; and one certainly does miss those thousand elegancies with which the taste of British ladies delight in adorning their apartments." For our part we are not very desirous of establishing the existence of a luxurious and extravagant manner of living in the United States, and therefore we decline entering into the field upon the subject, either for or against the "buhl tables and *or-molu* clocks," but we confess our astonishment at the difference between the Major and the distinguished Frenchman already quoted, who says, having spoken previously of extravagant *nick-nacks* of the English:—"How much better had the money squandered on them been applied to the *purchase of clocks*, wanting in all the English apartments, or to a more elegant species of furniture than that covered with printed calico, which one sees in the greater part of the best furnished saloons of the capital."

But the Major proceeds from the furniture to the domestics:

"When you enter an American house, either in quality of casual visiter or invited guest, the servant never thinks of ushering you to the company; on the contrary, he immediately disappears, leaving you to explore your way, in a navigation of which you know nothing, or to amuse yourself in the passage by counting the hat-pegs and umbrellas. In a strange house, one cannot take the liberty of bawling for assistance, and the choice only remains of opening doors on speculation, with the imminent risk of intruding on the bed-room of some young lady, or of cutting the gordian knot by escaping through the only one you know any thing about. I confess, that the first time I found myself in this unpleasant predicament, the latter expedient was the one I adopted, though, I fear, not without offence to an excellent family, who, having learned the fact of my admission, could not be supposed to understand the motive of my precipitate retreat."

Is not this truly laughable? a man, a gentleman, and a soldier, totally disconcerted, because, upon entering a house as an invited guest, he is not forthwith ushered into the company. We doubt



much whether such an instance ever came under the author's notice in polished society; or if it ever did, it must have arisen from something "doubtful" discovered in the appearance of the Major himself, which may have induced the servant to think—for servants are shrewd observers as well as the Major—that his claims to such an introduction were liable to question. But supposing it all true, still, how perfectly contemptible must it appear to every sensible man, that a single omission of a stupid footman should be taken into account as a national imperfection or blemish. Who would not rather be the footman, even with the odium of this charge resting upon him, than the gentleman who would give offence to an excellent family by so precipitous a retreat? These are occurrences more or less in every country easily remedied by a true gentleman, who lives up to the standard of his birth; a hint or a word will be sufficient to put a careless servant upon the alert, and to obviate the evil complained of. Would it have been below the Major's bearing or breeding to request the servant to show him into the saloon, or to intimate in any way that should seem best to his noble self, the honour he intended to do the family?

The illustrations of the high estimate affixed to wealth in this country, are even less commendable, although certainly not destitute of truth. Wealth, the world over, is a subject of regard, and a golden calf not unfrequently becomes the lion of his time, or, in other words, an ass laden with gold will pass through the gates of the strongest city. But this is chiefly among those who build their own pretensions upon a similar basis. That a merchant should occasionally talk of the success of an adventure; a soldier of a campaign; or a lawyer of the delight or anxieties of litigation; a politician of the nature of government; a poet of the charms of divine poesy, is assuredly no subject of wonder. Many merchants have by lucky chances been elevated to the proudest fortunes, without, perhaps, ever having been remarkably distinguished for their intellectual improvement; but does it follow, that because there are such men inclined to converse upon the delights of speculation and the accumulation of wealth, the whole commercial community should be stigmatized with being entirely devoted to money getting, and "a resolute and obtrusive cupidity of gain?"

From New York, however, our traveller proceeds to Boston on the 8th December, and stopping on his way, at Providence, he gives another description of a dinner which he there enjoyed in solitary blessedness, and which produced the following admirable soliloquy, of which we cannot find it in our heart to deprive the reader:

"It is only when alone that one enjoys the satisfaction of feeling that he is a distinct unit in creation, as being *totus, teres atque rotundus*—at a public ordinary he is but a fraction, a decimal at most, but very probably a contimal of a huge masticating monster, with the appetite of a mastodon or a

behemuth. He labours under the conviction that his meal has lost in dignity what it has gained in profusion. He is consorted involuntarily with people to whom he is bound by no tie but that of temporary necessity, and with whom, except the immediate impulse of brutal appetite, he has nothing in common. A man, like an American, thus diurnally mortified and abased, from his youth upward, of course knows nothing of the high thoughts which visit the imagination of the solitary, who, having finished a good dinner, reposes with a full consciousness of the dignity of his nature, and the high destinies to which he is called. The situation is one which naturally stimulates the whole inert mass of his speculative benevolence. He is at peace with all mankind, for he reclines on a well-stuffed sofa, and there are wine and walnuts on the table. He is on the best terms with himself, and recalls his own achievements in arms, literature or philosophy, in a spirit of the most benign complacency. If he look to the future, the prospect is bright and unclouded,—if he revert to the past, its ‘written troubles,’ its failures and misfortunes are erased from the volume, and his memories are exclusively those of gratified power. He is in his slippers, and comfortable *robe-de-chambre*, and what to him, at such a moment, are the world and its ambition? I appeal to the philosopher, and he answers—Nothing!”

Over wretched roads, and in a miserable stage, he at length reaches Boston, and after describing Tremont, the Free Schools, the American System, the Churches and their creeds, and stigmatizing the people with vanity and devotion to money, calling them modern Laocoons, and zealous worshippers of Mammon, he introduces a comparison between them and the Scotch, in which he gives a decided preference to his own countrymen, as appears from the following extract:

“The Scotch have established throughout the world a high character for honesty, sobriety and steady industry. Jonathan is equally sober and industrious, but his reputation for honesty is at a discount. The whole Union is full of stories of his cunning frauds, and the impositions he delights to perpetrate on his more simple neighbours. Whenever his love of money comes in competition with his zeal for religion, the latter is sure to give way. He will insist on the scrupulous observance of the Sabbath, and cheat his customers on the Monday morning. His life is a comment on the text, ‘Qui, festinat ditescere, non crit innocens.’ The whole race of Yankee pedlars, in particular, are proverbial for dishonesty. These go forth annually, in thousands, to lie, cog, cheat, swindle, in short, to get possession of their neighbour’s property in any way it can be done with impunity. Their ingenuity in deception is confessed very great. They warrant broken watches to be the best time-keepers in the world; sell pinch-beck trinkets for gold, and have always a large assortment of wooden nutmegs and stagnant barometers. In this respect they resemble the Jews, of which race, by-the-by, I am assured, there is not a single specimen to be found in New England. There is an old Scotch proverb, ‘Corbies never pick out corbies’ ’een.’”

This is the character of our Eastern friends, drawn by a man who remained but little more than a fortnight among them; who gives no facts, upon which he founds his scandal; and who admits their warmth of hospitality and kindness, in the very chapter in which he accuses them of having *half hearts*. How is it justified? “Why the whole union is full of stories of the Yankee’s cunning and frauds, and of the impositions he delights to perpetrate on his more simple neighbours.” What would be thought of an European tra-

veller, who, instead of describing Scotland as she is, should be satisfied to draw her character from fugitive reports, or depend for information upon Johnson's Tour to the Hebrides; or the following passage of Churchill, as applied to the condition of Scotland :

"Pent in a barren corner of the Isle,  
Where partial Fortune never deign'd to smile;  
Like nature's bastard, reaping for our share  
What was rejected by the lawful heir.  
Unknown amongst the nations of the earth,  
Or only known to raise contempt and mirth.  
Long free, because the race of Roman braves  
Thought it not worth their while to make us slaves.  
Considered as the refuse of mankind,  
A mass, to the last moment left behind;  
Which frugal nature doubted, as it lay,  
Whether to stamp with life—or throw away.  
Which formed in haste, was planted in the nook,  
But never entered in Creation's Book.  
Branded as traitors, who for love of gold  
Would sell their God, as once their king they sold."

Had the tourist contented himself with the comparison between the Scotch and New England character, we should have been satisfied; for there is no part of the united kingdoms that it would be more honourable and laudable to resemble than Scotland, notwithstanding the lavish abuse to which from time immemorial she has been subjected.

The traveller proceeds to inform us of what is not a little remarkable after the allegation that Bostonians have but *half hearts*, that there is far more *English* feeling in Boston than "he was prepared to expect."

After the Christmas holydays he quitted Boston "with sentiments of *deep gratitude* for a kindness which, from the hour of arrival to that of departure, had continued unbroken." His gratitude must have been *very deep*,—so deep indeed that it never appeared on the surface,—for among all the travellers that have encumbered and annoyed or amused us—many of whom obviously possessed not the tithe part of the talent of the Major, nor received a moiety of the attentions and kindness for which he gives us credit—there never has been a more reckless, cold-blooded, and to use his own phrase, gratuitous attack, upon a generous, intelligent and hospitable community, than that which *he* has made. With few or no pretensions to the distinctions which it appears they liberally bestowed upon him, he, it would seem, was unsuspectingly received into the hearts of their families. Conferred with familiarly upon every subject in regard to which he was supposed to desire information, escorted to every place that was an object of interest to a stranger, literally loaded with the attentions of the most intellectual and gifted men of the time—for all this he magnanimously requites them, by pronouncing them puritans, hypocrites, misers, cheats, swindlers, and sharpers!



Having turned his back on Boston, the Major retraces his steps to New York, and although he had previously described the horrors of travelling in America, more than once he hashes up the same dish again, and occupies half-a-dozen pages in abusing the roads, stages, passengers, inn-fare, accommodations, every thing in his route, except, perhaps, in the solitary instance of a coloured waiter whom he met at Worcester. The gallant Major, (*having roughed it under Wellington*), was sadly distressed for a few additional blankets, and a couple of pillows, and the waiter, moved by his sufferings, and the eloquence of a quarter of a dollar, promptly procured them for him.

Let us pause on the return route to give an account of an occurrence that took place at Hartford, upon which the Major seems to dwell with particular emphasis and complacency, as it affords another opportunity of manifesting his "sentiments of the deepest gratitude to the Yankees." It is indeed expressly related by him, with a view—to adopt his classical expression—of *adding additional* "light to the New England character." And we hope, therefore, it will not be considered as at all designed to display the extent of his own irrepressible generosity. The scene was a dirty inn at Hartford—well,

"I was sitting," says the Major, "engaged in the dullest of all tasks, reading an American newspaper, when a woman and a girl about ten years old, entered, cold and shivering, having just been discharged from the Boston stage coach. The woman was respectable in appearance, rather good looking, and evidently belonged to what may in *this country* be called the middling class of society. She immediately inquired at what hour the steamboat set off for New York, and on learning that, owing to the river being frozen up, it started from New Haven, some thirty miles lower, she was evidently much discomposed, and informed the landlord, that calculating on meeting the steamboat that morning at Hartford, her pocket was quite unprepared for the expense of a farther journey, and the charges of different sorts necessarily occasioned by a day's delay on the road.

"The landlord shrugged up his shoulders and walked off, the Irish waiter looked at her with something of a quizzical aspect, and an elderly gentleman, engaged like myself, in reading a newspaper, raised his eyes for a moment, discharged his saliva on the carpet, and then resumed his occupation.

"Though evidently without a willing audience, the woman continued her complaint, informed us she had left her husband in Boston, to visit her brother in New York; explained and re-explained the cause of her misfortunes, and a dozen times at least concluded by an assurance, of the truth of which the whole party were quite satisfied, that she was sadly puzzled what to do.

"In such circumstances, I know not whether it was benevolence, or to put a stop to her detestable iteration, or a mingled motive compounded of both, that prompted me to offer to supply her with any money she might require. However, I did so, and the offer, though not absolutely refused, was certainly very ungraciously received: she stared at me, expressed no thanks, and again commenced the detail of her grievances, of which repetition had something staled the variety; I therefore, left the apartment. Shortly after, the sleigh for New Haven drew up, and I had entirely forgotten the amiable sufferer

and her pecuniary affliction, when she came up, and said, without any expression of civility 'You offered me money, I'll take it.' I asked how much she wished: she answered sixteen dollars, which I immediately ordered my servant to give her. Being a Scotchman, however, he took the prudent precaution of requesting her address in New York, and received a promise that the amount of her debt should be transmitted to Bunker's on the following day.

"Weeks passed after my arrival in New York, and I heard no more either of the dollars or my fellow traveller, and being curious to know whether I had been cheated, I at length sent to demand repayment. My servant came back with the money; he had seen the woman, who expressed neither thanks nor gratitude; and on being asked why she had violated her promise to discharge the debt, she answered that she could not be at the trouble of sending the money, for she supposed it was my business to ask for it. It should be added, that the house in which she resided was that of her brother, a respectable shopkeeper, in one of the best streets in New York, whose establishment certainly betrayed no indication of poverty.

"The truth is, that the woman was very far from being a swindler, she was only a *Yankee*, and troubled with an indisposition, somewhat endemic in New England, to pay money. She thought, perhaps, that a man who had been so imprudent as to lend to a stranger, might be so negligent as to forget to demand payment. The servant might have lost her address; in short, it was better to take the chance, however small, of ultimately keeping the money, than to restore it unasked. All this might be very sagacious, but it certainly was not high-principled or very honest."

Romance writers, in whatever they may be employed, never, it would seem, can lay aside the tricks of their trade. The actual occurrences of life are entirely too "stale, flat and unprofitable" to satisfy their glowing fancies, and the simplest facts are so bedizened in the decayed finery of their professional wardrobes, that it is no easy matter to separate the truth from the tinsel and frippery with which it is surrounded. Fiction may be very well in its place—it may thrive and flourish in the latitude of the *peninsula*,—but America is a plain matter-of-fact country, and a picture of her, to be faithful, should of course be consistent with her character. At all events, we would advise the Major, and all others in like cases offending, if they would impart the hue of health to their sickly fancies, or give an air of probability to a series of day-dreams, scrupulously to avoid the unnecessary introduction of dates. Time is truly said to be the discoverer of all things; and although this be a new application of the proverb, we have to show that he has detected the Major upon this statement, either of a wonderful lapse of memory, or a downright falsehood. The evidence of the lady whom he has so wantonly abused, in the way of exacting upon his alleged loan the usury of gratified malevolence, is unnecessary, even if such a lady were in existence, and could readily be adduced. We are content to abide literally by what he himself has set down as the circumstances of the case, and if we should succeed in showing that in essential

particulars, whenever he can be touched, he is self-condemned, no ghost will be required to prove that whenever he is intangible he is at least as incredible. We feel ourselves more bound to enter upon this subject, in vindication of the glory of British officers and gentlemen, inasmuch as the Major and his servant, (whom he at times conveniently passes, forsooth, as his secretary,) have both magnanimously attacked the character of an unfriended and defenceless woman; or rather, as the Antiquary has it, the character of womankind; for, as we have said, as to any particular female being involved, it is but "a weak invention of the enemy," and utterly out of the question.

The Major, alive to the soldierly maxim "that discretion is the better part of valour," ensconces himself most adroitly behind his servant. *His* noble hand was not to be defiled by administering directly its bounty to a *plebeian*; he orders his *servant* to discharge this degrading office of humanity. He professes to know nothing of the promise to send the amount next day to Bunker's—this he also relates upon the responsibility of his servant. He states upon the same authority the ingratitude of the woman upon payment being demanded, when she was bluntly charged by his *omnis homo*, the Scot, with having violated her promise; and in short, all his sapient suggestions as to an endemic disposition to swindle, among the Yankees, are built upon the same insecure basis.

As to returning the money to the Major next day at Bunker's, that was impossible, for they did not arrive at New York the next day, and the probabilities are, (always supposing any such affair ever took place,) from the lady having given her own address, that it was a mutual understanding that she should be called on,—she *was* called on,—not as the Major says, several weeks, *but a very few days* after his arrival, as we shall now take leave conclusively to establish.

On the evening of the 8th of December, according to his account, he left New York for Boston; on the 9th he reached Providence; on the 10th he departed for Boston, where he arrived the same day, and where he remained three weeks, which will bring us to the neighbourhood of new year, according to fair calculation; but to put it beyond doubt, we are expressly told by him that he left Boston soon after the festivities of Christmas were over, on his return journey.

The first night he slept at Worcester, the second at Springfield, the third at Hartford, where he remained on the fourth, upon which the interview is alleged to have taken place. This brings us, say to the first of January; two days after he reached New York, namely, on the third, and on the eighth he takes leave of New York for Philadelphia, having, during his stay in New York,



demanding and received his sixteen dollars. Now what becomes of his boasted indulgence—what becomes of his *several weeks*? If he had arrived on the first of January he could have remained only one week in New York, and how long he made his demand before his departure, and how soon after his arrival, we cannot be at much loss to determine. If he had even left Boston on Christmas day, according to the time occupied in his journey, agreeably to his own account, he could not have arrived at New York before the thirtieth of December; this allows but eight days for his stay in New York, as on the 8th of the next month he departed from New York. All these would certainly not be very important to the question if the other circumstances were undoubted, but when their title to credit depends upon the general consistency of the story, so obvious and egregious an anachronism throws suspicion upon the whole.

We pass over New York, the chapter written on the return to which being devoted chiefly to the state of political parties, constitutional questions, and a dissertation upon the probable dissolution of the Union at no very remote period; all introduced in the most artful and malevolent manner.

As has been said, on the 8th of January he again leaves New York, and embarks in the New Brunswick steamer on his way to Philadelphia. On his journey from New Brunswick to Bordentown, he complains even more outrageously than of any of his former travels:

“The road, says he, is detestable, the jolting even worse than that I had suffered on my journey from Providence to Boston. For at least half the distance the coach was axle deep in mud, and once it fairly stuck in a rut, and might have continued sticking till doomsday, had not the passengers dismounted to lighten the vehicle. I inquired the reason of the disgraceful neglect of this important line of communication, and was answered, that as it was intended at some future period to have a railway, it would be mere folly to go to any expense in repairing it. Thus are the intelligent people content to sacrifice a great present benefit to a mere speculative and probably remote contingency.”

The “mere speculative and probably remote contingency” was not so *speculative* or *remote* as was supposed: the intended rail-way upon “this important line of communication” has already been completed. The cars, locomotive engine, “and all the appliances and means to boot,” required for an efficient, speedy, and most agreeable intercourse between the cities of New York and Philadelphia, are now in full operation, and have been for months. How much earlier this might have been accomplished, had we anticipated in due season the arrival of this distinguished visiter, with a view to his peculiar accommodation, it is too late now to discuss or determine. The refinements or comforts in travelling, for which the Major is so great a stickler, are desirable every where, and probably no where more abundant than in England;

but we must be allowed to assert that it is unreasonable to expect this premature perfection in a country that still is young. In an island of from three to four hundred miles in diameter, and "where every foot of ground maintains its man;" in a country that has enjoyed the improvement of a thousand years, that deficiency which he ascribes to us, in these respects, would be exceedingly reprehensible: but let us remember the disparity in time, in territory, in artificial resources if you please, and the wonder ceases; or rather the wonder really is, that so much should already have been accomplished in America. Every thing in this region is gigantic; English rivers with us would be rivulets or creeks; her lakes compared with ours would be mill-ponds, or standing pools; her mountains would be hills or knolls. The whole island of Great Britain might be sunk in the majestic Mississippi, and scarcely leave a bubble to mark the extinction of so much glory.

We must be allowed, before taking leave of this subject, to refer the reader to the sentiments expressed by a late English writer, in regard to the condition of the two countries, which strike us as particularly applicable and felicitous.

"America," says the author of *Arlington*, "ever alike the object of injudicious praise and unfair censure!—clamorously assailed by the ignorant radical, who attributes to nothing but the republican institutions a prosperity more strictly due to unnumbered acres of inexhaustible fertility! unfairly censured by the bigoted high tory for the absence of refinements, to be expected only in a state of society at which those are too young to have arrived, why is not England more proud of thee—and *thee* of England? Look round the world—and where is the parent, and where is the child, that reflects more honour, each upon the other, and has more cause of triumph in each other's strength; we are of one race—a race which, alike in either hemisphere, shows by its mighty strides in civilization—by its undeviating prosecution of that which is useful, that it deserves to be characterized as especially representing the mature, grown manhood of the human kind.

"America is most proud of its liberty and its industry; and were they not wafted from those shores with the adventurous emigrants who established themselves on that mighty continent?—and can they think they had still been that same great people if their language were that of the Italian or the Spaniard? The resolution, the independence, the unconquerable perseverance by which that extensive territory has been maintained and subdued to the uses of its possessors,—these are English virtues. They have flourished nobly on another soil, and *there* may they never cease to flourish, even if they be productive of a greatness which some in the parent land may envy. May the bonds of closer amity unite two nations which ought to know and to esteem each other much better than they have hitherto done! But let not the memory of former wrongs rankle in the bosom of the younger state; and let it not be rendered presumptuous by the dazzling contemplation of its natural advantages, and the hitherto unimpaired vigour of its youth. Let not the different institutions of the two countries be ever captiously compared, if in the opinion of the rival supporters they could each convey nothing but discredit to the other. Each form of government may be best suited to its respective country; ours has been the growth of ages, and is interwoven with

our habits and our feelings;—America, perhaps, could not have been any thing but a republic; she is too young to possess an aristocracy, and wo to the state that would erect a monarchy on the basis of a democracy, with no fairer intermediate structure to give to the political pyramid its due proportion, consistency and strength!”

This passage is introduced, not for its literary merit, but for the justness of its sentiments in respect to the mutual relations of the two countries. If the same conciliatory spirit that breathes through these remarks were exhibited more generally in the works of English authors, it would conduce not a little to reciprocal advantage. But from a hireling writer, whose compositions are directed to two views so intimately associated with each other, it is true, as almost to be identified, namely, flattering the prejudices of his friends, and thereby improving the condition of his own pocket, no such liberality can be reasonably expected. “Who peppers the highest is surest to please;” and as plain matter-of-fact men, who see things as they are, and describe things as they see them, cannot be expected to cater so fancifully or luxuriously, or season so richly for the fastidious and pampered tastes of their readers, as those who traffic in imagination, it follows as a matter of course, that honest history is compelled to give place to visionary and distempered romance. “It is in anyman’s power,” says Dean Swift, “to suppose a fool’s cap upon the wisest head, and then laugh at his own conceit. There are not many things cheaper than supposing and laughing, and if uniting these two talents will bring a thing into contempt, it is hard to know where it may end.” Supposition and ridicule will be found to be the main constituents of Major Hamilton’s work, and as they have probably proved profitable to him in a pecuniary point of view, we think in all fairness, that having enjoyed the reward, he is bound to confess that while depicting the faults and follies of others, he has generally himself consented to sit for the picture, and so far as regards *himself*, we do not deny that, in technical phrase, he has “hit it off to the life.”

“The city of Philadelphia,” says the Major, “is *mediocrity personified in brick and mortar*. It is a city laid down by square and rule—a sort of habitable problem,—a mathematical infringement on the rights of individual eccentricity,—a rigid and prosaic despotism of right-angles and parallelograms. It may emphatically be called a *comfortable* city; that is, the houses average better than in any other with which I am acquainted. You here see no miserable and filthy streets, the refuse of squalid poverty, forming a contrast to the splendour of squares and crescents. No Dutch town can be cleaner, and the marble stairs and window-sills of the better houses, give an agreeable relief to the red brick of which they are constructed.

“The public buildings are certainly superior to any I have yet seen in America. Some of the churches are handsome, and the United States Bank, with its marble portico of Grecian doric, gives evidence, I trust, of an improving taste. I confess, however, that my hopes on this matter are not very strong. Even persons of information are evidently unable to appreciate the true merit of the building or the architect, and connect ridicule with both, by



declaring the former to be 'the finest building in the world!' Is a poor traveller in the United States, when continually beset by such temptation, to be held utterly inexcusable, if he sometimes venture to indulge in a sneer?

"The Bank of Pennsylvania is another structure entitled to applause. Its front presents a flight of steps sustaining an Ionic portico of six columns, with an entablature and pediment. The banking-house of Mr. Girard, the Coutts of the Union, is likewise handsome. Like the two buildings I have already mentioned, its whole front is of marble, but in taste it is far less chaste, and presents more faults than I have time or inclination to enumerate. There are likewise two buildings of some pretension in the Gothic style. Both are contemptible.

"The State-house, from which issued the Declaration of American Independence, is yet standing. It is built of brick, and consists of a centre and two wings, without ornament of any sort. There is something appropriate, and even imposing, in its very plainness. Above, is a small cupola with a clock, which at night is illuminated by gas.

"The Philadelphians, however, pride themselves far more on their water-works than on their State-house. Their io-pæans on account of the former, are loud and unceasing; and I must say, the annoyance which these occasions to a traveller is very considerable. A dozen times a day was I asked whether I had seen the water-works, and on my answering in the negative, I was told that I positively must visit them; that they were unrivalled in the world; that no people but the Americans could have executed such works, and by implication, that no one but an Englishman, meanly jealous of American superiority, would omit an opportunity of admiring their unrivalled mechanism.

"There is no accounting for the eccentricities of human character. I had not heard these circumstances repeated above fifty times, ere I began to run restive, and determined not to visit the water-works at all. To this resolution I adhered, in spite of all annoyance, with a pertinacity worthy of a better cause. Of the water-works of Philadelphia, therefore, I know nothing, and any reader particularly solicitous of becoming acquainted with the principle of this remarkable piece of machinery, must consult the pages of other travellers."

Now we are not about entering into an architectural competition with England. To speak of the improvements and refinements in the arts, in a country like ours, scarcely two hundred years old, and relieved from foreign despotism only for the last sixty years, would be an *absurdity*—these are matters that necessarily require the aid of time; they are the result of overgrown and hereditary fortunes, of aristocratic rivalry; but at the same time that we are unambitious of undeserved distinctions, speak of us as we are. There is neither wit nor argument, but something of a blunder, in the allegation, that Philadelphia is mediocrity *personified in bricks and mortar*, laid down by square and rule, a sort of habitable problem, a mathematical infringement upon individual eccentricity. If it mean any thing it is this, that the city is not so arranged that every man can strike out his own path, and like the savages in the wilderness, roam unrestrained and free. It is the policy of civilized life to submit to individual inconvenience for general advantage: and although the regularity of the streets of Philadelphia may appear extraordinary to a Londoner, no man in his wits ever thought of condemning it on that account; and the traveller might as well find fault with

the etiquette of society, because it does not allow every man to do exactly as he pleases, as to condemn a city because it is not carved up into narrow lanes and alleys, more conformable to the *narrow* taste of such men as the Major. How is it, that in all parts of the world the great desideratum in every city appears to be, the adoption of that very system, so far as it is practicable, which is so censured in the case of Philadelphia? With many of the cities of Europe, and particularly London, the attempt at reform is too late, and it may, therefore, smack something of policy to be sure, to decry what they cannot imitate. If, a crooked and irregular city is to be the poetical model of perfection, why then this "proud despotism of right angle and parrallelograms" must of course be an abomination. But if, on the contrary, deformity in city as in men, instead of forming the rule, furnishes only the exception to the rule, by what authority are we to be tried and convicted in a British forum?

It is observed, that the Bank of the United States is evidence of an improving taste indeed, but that our good citizens connect ridicule with the building, by declaring it to be the finest in the world. We do not believe that the Major ever heard any such assertion from any respectable quarter, and although, no doubt, the edifice may have been praised by some beyond its merits, to a liberal mind this would not be entirely inexcusable.

The state-house, it is also said, is imposing in its plainness, and supports a small cupola, with a clock which at night is illuminated by gas. This small cupola, as it is called, is a steeple, not so high as St. Peter's or St. Paul's, but still a steeple or spire one hundred and sixty feet high, and although certainly not a large steeple, far from a small cupola, inasmuch as it is no *cupola at all*, according to our understanding of the phrase.

Next come the water-works; the io-pœans on account of which we are told occasion very considerable annoyance to a traveller. Upon being assured that they were unrivalled in the world, and being urged a dozen times a day to visit them, the distinguished stranger "began to run restive, and determined not to visit the water-works at all, and therefore knows nothing of them."

As well might the American go to London without seeing St. Paul's or Wesminster Abbey; as well might he assign for excuse, what in fact aggravates the offence, the urgent application from kind friends, to induce him to form an acquaintance with these wonders of the world. If the impartiality of the tourist had previously been in doubt, that doubt is here at once removed, and he stands before us on his own confession, as scripturally proscribed among those "who have eyes yet they see not, ears yet they hear not, and understanding yet they will not comprehend." Is this the spirit by which a well-informed traveller is presumed

to be actuated—a spirit which induces him to shun that which at least is supposed to be remarkable? while he exhausts his strength and his spleen upon wire-drawn theories, or common place incident; which, without any effort of imagination, might as readily have been conjured up on the *other side* of the Atlantic as upon this.

As to his having run restive, goaded by the instances of some few kind-hearted individuals that he should examine the interesting objects which the city and its environs presented, and the annoyance which these things occasion to a traveller, we must be allowed to observe, that none are so intolerant as the intolerable. And if we are to believe those who occupy the condition, at least, of impartial reviewers of English men and manners, we shall find that it is the besetting sin, among the very people with whom the Major claims kindred, to annoy their guests and visitors, by drawing their notice to every thing great or small, which by possibility may be calculated to excite attention or deserve applause.

To show that we speak by the card, we refer again briefly to Baron D'Haussez, for a passage particularly applicable to this charge.

"The English," says the Baron, "have a custom of showing every thing: when they undertake the task of gratifying a stranger's curiosity, they overwhelm it, and are unsparing of the most minute and insignificant details. In a town, no part of it, however repulsive to the sight—no building, however wretched, escapes their zeal as ciceroni. In a house, they take you from the cellar to the garret, and draw your attention to every thing it contains: there is no getting out of a library, a museum, or a collection of works of art; they make you open every book in succession—examine the most insignificant painting—admire the object least worthy of attention."

To say an incidental word by the way of illustration, in regard to the dispute provoked by the Major between us and the mother country, in respect to robes and wigs, sceptres and toys, and glittering things, which are not deemed by us consistent with republican simplicity and equality of character: Shall we for that reason condemn them in *England*? No! Are *we* to be condemned for omitting them? No! Aristocracy delights in splendour, in pomp, and parade; they tend even to widen supposed natural distinctions; they are therefore adapted to the policy of England, but for that very reason they are opposed to the principles and spirit of the American government, and they are consequently rejected by us. To *retain* their respective principles, and to *exchange* their usages, would result in the disgrace and destruction of both countries.

The Major shortly after commences his journey to Washington; during the earlier part of which he covered himself over with the straw in the bottom of the stage,—which he calls a cart, and fell into a comfortable slumber; "but," says he, "the *wagon*



having stopped, a rascal of a pedlar, in scrambling out of the machine, chose to plant his great hob-nailed foot on the pit of my stomach." We fear the Major's *brains* must have been in imminent danger. What hair-breadth escapes he has made! The unsightly hand of an ex-king but a few days before had nearly been the death of him—and now, alas! to be crushed by the foot of a republican pedlar. Thank heaven, we are told it was a Hingin, and not a *Yankee*. Only hear his pathetic lament, and imagine his agony if you can. "To be stretched along side of my servant, in straw, on the bottom of the cart—and in such a pickle to be trampled upon by a common hawker of thimbles and pocket-handkerchiefs! But travelling in America is like misery—it occasionally brings a man acquainted with strange bedfellows."

The ill-humour of our traveller being exhausted, he passes rather lightly over Baltimore; he exhibits some few qualms of the stomach, it is true, in digesting the battle monument, but at length arrives at Washington in a tolerable state of corporeal and mental composure. At the seat of government of the United States he for a time consents to doff his cap, and become reporter to both Houses of Congress, and if his statements be true, certainly not much to the credit of either. A large proportion of the members struck him as vulgar and uncouth; "it was impossible to look at them without the conviction that they were not gentlemen, and that in no society in Europe could they be received as such." Of the Senate, however, he entertains a more exalted opinion, and for the President of the Union, to whom he was presented by Mr. Van Buren, both as to moral and intellectual qualities, he expresses his sincere respect.

In adverting here to that portion of the constitution which relates to qualifications of Senators and Representatives, after condemning it in every respect, wherever it differs from the rule in England, he conceives that the election of Senators for life, with considerable qualifications of property, would have been a scheme of government far preferable to the one adopted. He regrets that Washington should have withheld his support from these views, as suggested by some of his distinguished contemporaries, and assigns as the reason for rejecting the measure, that "Washington, though bold in the field, was timid in the cabinet."

To attempt to defend Washington, or his policy, against any man, however exalted might be his character or position in life, would be preposterous in the extreme; but to suppose that he can stand in need of defence against such an attack as this, would be virtually to defame him. Washington is not merely the man of this country, and his age—but of the *world*, and of all ages—and it is enough to excite ridicule, when we observe every puny whipster canvassing his policy, or pronouncing an opinion upon his courage, whether in the cabinet or in the field. He is twice a

hero who subdues himself; and perhaps no circumstances could have exhibited greater self-control, have been more consistent with the interest of the country, or reflected brighter lustre upon its great author, than exactly those for which he is here censured, if not condemned. Nothing short of a hereditary house of lords in a republican country, will meet the fastidious taste of the redoubtable Major. All this would *have been*, but Washington, alas! we are told, was timid in the cabinet. Washington, though prudent every where, was timid nowhere. A *life senate* would have been *death* to the liberties of the country;—it would have been in direct opposition to the vital principle of the revolution, which was the equality of man. It might have gratified designing spirits, it is true, by rendering them a sort of privileged order, but it must have finally depressed others, in proportion to their elevation, and thereby entirely destroyed the fabric of a republican government.

The Major seems to question also the policy of electing the president for only the term of four years; notwithstanding the privilege of re-election. His objections are briefly these,—that the president's desire is naturally to secure a re-election; that, to effectuate that purpose, he follows rather than leads public opinion; that he truckles to local or sectional interests instead of pursuing the unbending policy which his own principles would have dictated. Now, some of these objections may be well founded; but supposing them all to be so, we cannot agree that the shortness of the term of office is pernicious to the national interest; and the example of the father of his country in withdrawing from the presidency at the expiration of the second term, the force of which example is equal to a constitutional prohibition of longer continuance, may prove not to be the least among the many blessings he bequeathed to his country. As to the shortness of time “preventing the adoption of any permanent or far-sighted policy, this, supposing it to be an evil, nevertheless has its attendant good. If it prevent the progressive “augmentation of public wealth and prosperity”—it also renders the chief magistrate more sensible to the check of public opinion, and less capable, by dint of *too far-sighted* policy, should his designs be evil, to subvert the laws and liberties of the Union.

To give our system a just consideration, it should be viewed not merely in regard to the future but the present. Not simply in respect to its inconvenience but its advantages. Were all men virtuous and wise, a more permanent policy might be desirable, and the interests of posterity might be unquestionably promoted thereby—but taking man, even in his best estate, he is too frail and feeble and variable in his character, too liable to be affected by change, and influenced by circumstances, to be regarded as an object of implicit reliance. The world is full of examples illus-

trative of the truth of this doctrine. There have been many Ne-ros, who have played the political fiddle while their Rome was burning—there has been but one Washington. Human policy must therefore be directed against the follies and the vices of human nature, and not founded upon the delusive hypothesis, drawn from individual instances of magnanimity, that all men are magnanimous and require neither moral nor legal restraint. The first four years of the presidency are years of official probation, and upon the proof the second term should depend. We must now leave this important subject and pursue the Major in his journey.

From Washington he returned to Baltimore, whence he set out for the South; and after complaining of his companions, the scenery, the snow, and every inch of the road, he at length reaches Cincinnati—of which he seems rather inclined to speak favourably. The most remarkable object in Cincinnati, however, we are informed, is a large græc. moresc. gothic, Chinese-looking building—an architectural compilation of prettiness of all sorts, the effect of which was eminently grotesque. This, the reader must know, was the famous bazaar erected by Mrs. Trollope, with whom we are told the traveller had afterwards the pleasure of becoming acquainted at New York, and to whose general fidelity of description he offers willing testimony. This is not all: he tells us, that before her arrival, ears polite had never heard of Cincinnati; “there was not a glimmering of a chance that it would be mentioned once in a twelvemonth, even on the Liverpool Exchange; but Mrs. Trollope came, and a zone of light has ever since encircled Cincinnati. Its inhabitants are no longer a race unknown to fame; their manners, habits, virtues, tastes, vices and pursuits are familiar to all the world; but, strange to say, the market-place of Cincinnati is yet unadorned by the statue of the great benefactress of the city. Has gratitude utterly departed from the earth?”

It is not easy to say whether this portion of the work be serious or ironical—*serious* we suppose so far as regards the encomium upon Mrs. Trollope’s grace, spirit, and vivacity—*ironical* as respects the obligation which she has conferred upon Cincinnati, and the ingratitude displayed by the omission to erect a statue to her in the market-place; and yet the author subsequently imparts an air of gravity even to that sentiment, by the suggestion that the figure of Fulton, as another great benefactor, should occupy the corresponding niche.

Leaving Cincinnati, he proceeds to New Orleans, describing with the pencil of a novelist the scenery of the Ohio and the Mississippi. On the tenth of April he left New Orleans and proceeded to Mobile; thence he journeyed to Georgia; from Georgia he took coach for Charleston, where he *puts up* at the house of Jones, a coloured man, but whom he concludes to be a gentleman,



from the fact that mine host was confined by the gout. Here he again expatiates upon the delights of the table, and the attractions of iced claret; compares Charleston with New Orleans; declares the former in point of health and climate to be "*fully worse*" than the latter, inasmuch, as we understand him, one kills the patient with a living death, and in his own choice language, "in the other, a man runs a *certain risk* and has done with it, that is, he is either exterminated or acclimated." Phrases of this obscure and irregular character are not unusual in the style of our historian; and the poverty of his language and his deficiency in taste are frequently manifested by the introduction of slang, miserable common places, or silly and wearisome repetitions.

From Charleston he sets sail for New York, thence he proceeds to Trenton and Niagara Falls, visits Montreal and Quebec, and returns again to New York by way of the lakes, Saratoga, &c. which city he finally left for Liverpool, in the packet Birmingham, on the 28th July, and on the 12th of August again planted his foot on the soil of Old England.

Thus ends the elaborate treatise on the *Men and Manners of America*. The Major passed through half the states in the Union, but has not half described those which he visited. He has drawn his chief information upon the state of society from the inmates of hotels, of stage-coaches, and of steamboats, encountered during the most inclement season of the year. He has discussed the Constitution without ever having read it; he has determined upon the texture and character of the government and laws, without any thing more than the advantages of a most superficial sciolist. He commenced with the view of deterring the British nation from the adoption of those innovations which drivellers recommended and drivellers approved; and yet he has not thought proper to teach the reader the character of those laws, the pernicious tendency of which was to be eschewed—unless the republican practice of doing without wigs is to be supposed to be the most fruitful evil.

We may hope that this is the ultimus Romanorum—the last British traveller that we shall be compelled to notice. This, however, must depend more upon us than upon them. So long as the American people shall eagerly open their arms to receive every stranger that may visit our shores, and express a feverish anxiety as to what opinions he may entertain of our people, our institutions, and government, so long will their very anxiety produce the evils which they deprecate. Most of those men who broadly condemn every thing American are vagrant misanthropes, or worn out pattern-bearers, who, having exhausted all other means of subsistence, resort in the last gasp to the trade of book-making, not governed by impartial, but by selfish views, and depending entirely for the profits of their work upon

lavishing unqualified applause upon their own country, and unqualified abuse upon ours. It is said, however, that Mr. Bulwer is shortly to be amongst us—well, let him come. Bestow upon him, if you will, all the civilities that are due to his talents, but avoid all superfluous attentions; they will be imputed to national weakness, or to conscious inferiority; modesty, it is true, in an individual or a nation, is becoming, but it should never exceed the limit of proper self-respect.

It may be observed that we have throughout dignified the traveller with the title of *Major*. This has been done rather as a matter of courtesy than a concession of right. Major is the favourite American appellation of honour and regard. We happen to know that the great observer of American men and manners was not elevated on the British army-roll above the degree of Captain. The worthy folks with whom he conversed in his travels put many questions to him which it would have afflicted an oracle to solve; but he never betrayed more distress than when he was asked by a precisian, what was strictly his rank as an officer. An auditor informs us that his eye flashed indignation, as he ejaculated *Captain, sir, Captain*. The personalities in which Captain Hamilton has indulged his pen in various parts of his book, warrant a severe retort—particularly his indecorous account of Joseph Bonaparte; but we have abstained, as far as practicable, from imitating his bad example. We could give a description and relate anecdotes, by which those whom he has thus outraged would be amply revenged.

In the course of our general survey, we have bestowed but little attention on the constitutional questions which the traveller has elaborately discussed. He could not comprehend our federal and national system, and has committed several blunders so manifest to an American, that we have been content to leave them untouched. Our design was merely to give a general notion of his itinerary, and of the temper and manner in which he has treated his subject.

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#### ERRATUM.

On page 339, line 13, for "*Congress*" read "*any state*."



